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Tattvabodha

Volume VII

Editor
Pratapanand Jha

राष्ट्रीय पाण्डुलिपि मिशन
॥ चिन्तनमुपास्व ॥
National Mission for Manuscripts

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The National Mission for Manuscripts was established in February 2003 by the Ministry of Culture, Government of India with the purpose of locating, documenting, preserving and disseminating the knowledge content of India's handwritten manuscripts, said to be the largest collection of handwritten knowledge documents in the world. While looking ahead to reconnect with the knowledge of the past, the Mission is in the process of trying to re-contextualize the knowledge contained in manuscripts for the present and the future generations.

The Mission launched a lecture series titled "Tattvabodha" in January 2005. Since then, a monthly lecture series is organized in Delhi and other academic centres all over the country. Tattvabodha has established itself as a forum for intellectual discourse, debate and discussion. Eminent scholars representing different aspects of India's knowledge systems have addressed and interacted with highly receptive audiences over the course of the past few years.

This volume, seventh in the series, consists of twelve papers — eleven in English and one in Hindi — presented by well-known and upcoming scholars in different Tattvabodha lectures organized by the Mission.

The volume finds its merit in varied subjects across Indian knowledge system such as Accessing Manuscripts

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Tattvabodha VII

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Tattvabodha

Essays from the Lecture Series of
the National Mission for Manuscripts

Volume VII

Editor
Pratapanand Jha
Director, National Mission for Manuscripts

National Mission for Manuscripts
NATIONAL MISSION FOR MANUSCRIPTS

and

PRINTWORLD
Publishers of Indian Traditions

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Foreword

THE journey of the National Mission for Manuscripts started in 2003 when it was established by the Ministry of Culture, Government of India. The Mission's objectives are to explore, evaluate and present the knowledge contained in the manuscripts.

In its attempt to disseminate the traditional knowledge contained in the manuscripts, the Mission organizes the Tattvabodha — awareness of the Ultimate Reality — lecture series all around the country in collaboration with various academic institutions. This lecture series provides insights into different areas of knowledge delivered by eminent scholars who are specialists in their respective fields. The Tattvabodha lectures create a forum for intellectual engagement and subsequently try to re-contextualize the traditional knowledge to make it relevant to the present and future generations.

The present collection is the seventh volume of Tattvabodha series comprising twelve papers presented by well-known scholars in different Tattvabodha lectures organized by the Mission. The lectures are presented in English and Hindi, and cover a variety of topics across Indian knowledge system.

There is a paradigm shift in the medium of knowledge transmission, from handwritten and printed materials to the digital world. This has created both a crisis and an opportunity for the preservation of manuscripts. Computer scientists across the world are trying hard to develop Trusted Digital Repositories to ensure the online accessibility as well as long-term availability of digital data. To enable the Sanskrit scholars to access old Sanskrit manuscripts online, the Sanskrit Library has developed an

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application to integrate manuscript metadata and images. Peter M. Scharf in his paper describes the process by which similar integrated hypertext access may be created for any manuscript collection, using customized software.

Ancient Indians had the knowledge of basic principles related to Chemistry, Physics and Metallurgy and had conducted "practicals" on these knowledge system. Many works belonging to the Sūtra period are testimony to it. The *Aṁśubodhinī* by Ṛṣi Bharadvāja contains description of cosmology. We had in use apparatuses such as spectrometer, *prakāśastambhanābhidalauha*, *uṣṇāpahārakalauha* and *chāyāpravibhājakalauha*. From the *Vaiśeṣikasūtra* of Sage Kaṇāda and in the *Padārthadharmasaṁgraha* of Praśastapāda, we get to know many principles of science, especially the material science, popularly known as Vaiśeṣika. Newton's Universal Law of Gravity and his equations of motion were known to the Vaiśeṣikas. Praśastapāda enumerates in his book three forms of force — mechanical, emotional and elastic. The Vaiśeṣikas were adept in physical sciences, and Shankar Gopal Nene through his article makes us marvel on the scientific acumen of the ancient Indians.

Like the Vedic hymns, the Upaniṣads, the concluding part of the Vedic texts, have been given a status of divine revelation. The Vedānta school of philosophy per se is based on the principal Upaṇisads, along with the *Bhagavadgītā* and the *Brahmasūtra* of Bādarāyaṇa, and are respectively known as *śrutiprasthāna*, *smṛtiprasthāna* and *nyāyaprasthāna*. Dhirendranath Banerjee navigates the reader through the teachings of the principal Upaniṣads and their role in spearheading Purāṇic outlooks and philosophical perspectives, making a critical and comparative review of them.

Based on an old unpublished manuscript, the *Śiva-rahasya*, Satya Deva Misra talks about the nature of Śiva and His supremacy. The *Śiva-rahasya* is a treasure house of a variety of Śaiva faiths, both in Advaita and Dvaita forms right from the pre-historic to the modern times. It declares that Lord Śiva is the Ultimate Reality and is incessantly adored by gods and divine beings. Śaivism is

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just like an imperishable *aśvattha* tree which has been practised continuously from Kashmir to Kanyakumari in India, and in many countries outside.

The *Rāmacaritam of Ciraman* is the earliest extant poetical treatise in Malayalam. T.B. Venugopala Panickar has done a detailed study of *Rāmacaritam*'s theme, texture, linguistic and literary features, editions and about its poet. He is of the opinion that a lot to be done to bring out the best on the linguistics and poetics aspects of the *Rāmacaritam*.

Thousands of Āyurvedic titles are yet to be published. These titles can come in use to fill the missing points and links as far as Āyurveda is concerned. These unpublished titles can bring into light a few more explanations on Āyurvedic concepts, many more plants and their therapeutic uses, and methods of manufacturing and use of the drugs. To bring these titles and manuscripts into better limelight and usage, they need to be critically edited jointly by the *vaidyas* and Sanskrit scholars. While talking about all these aspects, S.D. Kamat briefs about some aspects of editing Āyurvedic texts and suggests that this effort can better be facilitated using new technology and software.

Though we do not get an accurate date of the *Dravyanāmākara Nighaṇṭu*, it is believed to have written in the fifteenth century CE by Bhīṣma Vaidya. This lexicographical work, aimed at introducing the homonyms mentioned in the *Dhanvantari Nighaṇṭu*, deals with the homonyms of medicinal plants/drugs. This article on the *Dravyanāmākara Nighaṇṭu* is also from S.D. Kamat. It talks about the definition of a *nighaṇṭu*, importance of the study of homonymous lexicon, its author, his time and place.

In his paper on tribal heritage and indigenous philosophical wisdom of Odisha, Kishore Kumar Tripathy observes that the tribal knowledge tradition of Odisha presents a vision of life, consciousness and perfection based on morality, compassion and unity. It also represents spiritual ideals, world view and ultimate perfection in life. Their philosophy contributes to an integral form of culture, both tangible and intangible, in a significant way. The

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author recommends inter-disciplinary dialogue for the promotion of tribal heritage, tradition and sustainability as an identity.

Andhra Pradesh State Archives houses a large repository of administrative and historical records. Some of the manuscripts at the Archives are already published, but many still remain in manuscript form. Zareena Parveen takes us through a treasure trove of 668 manuscripts and introduces us to the historical, cultural, religious and political developments of the Medieval Deccan as well as the main rulers and their regimes. The manuscripts in Persian, Urdu, Arabi, Deccani, Marathi, English, Telugu, Kannada and Turki shed light on the history of the period, of local kingdoms and that of the Mughal occupation. The article gives an account of many published and unpublished manuscripts.

Gāndhārī, the key mother figure in the *Mahābhārata*, is understood and projected as a compassionate, large-hearted and virtuous personality, who empathizes with her blind husband and the abused Draupadī, as a righteous queen who argues for the right of Yudhiṣṭhira to be the king of Hastināpura and as a rebuking mother of Duryodhana. Urmi Shah, however, through her paper, unveils another facet of Gāndhārī: a jealous, depressive and frustrated woman, who never wanted the extinction of the Kurus, and in fiery anguish wanted to burn the Pāṇḍavas after the Kurukṣetra war, and in fact deformed the toe of Yudhiṣṭhira. Gāndhārī as a mother figure laid down the destiny of the destruction of the Kuru race in a very subtle way. Here the source of analysis of the character of Gāndhārī is the Gujarati play *Gāndhārī* by late Shri Hashmukh Baradi, a stalwart of Gujarati theatre.

Many Sanskrit stele inscriptions in Cambodia speak of the cultural impact that India had on Cambodia. This was due to the penetration and spread of Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism in the country and of the influence of Vedic literature and the great epics, the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*. The Hindu Purāṇas and Vyākaraṇa too held a sway in the stele inscription of Cambodia, going by C. Upender Rao. These inscriptions speak of a past that was in sync with the religious and cultural moorings of India.

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The *Kathākautukam*, the *Sulaimaccarita* and the *Delarāmākathāsāra* were translated from Pharsi, before *Ārabyayāminī* (Sanskrit translation of *Alif-Lailā* by Jagadbandhu Bhaṭṭa). Dr Radhavallabh Tripathi takes us on a voyage on the literary tradition of Pharsi language, keeping the focus on *Ārabyayāminī*, its translation into many languages, the outline of its story and the features of its translation, among many more details.

I hope these papers covering diverse topics will be useful to the readers in general. My sincere thanks are due to the scholars who have presented these papers and also to M/s D.K. Printworld for bringing out this volume. The opinions expressed by the individual scholars in their respective papers are their own and the NMM does not take responsibility of their viewpoints.

Pratapanand Jha

Director, National Mission for Manuscripts

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Contents

Foreword v

Scheme of Transliteration xiii

1. Accessing Manuscripts in the Digital Age: A Pipeline to Create a Hypertext Catalogue and Searchable Excess to Manuscript Images — Part II 1
   — *Peter M. Scharf*

2. Physics in Ancient Indian Knowledge System 21
   — *Shankar Gopal Nene*

3. Critical and Comparative Review of the Principal Upaniṣads 46
   — *Dhirendranath Banerjee*

4. The Concept of Śiva in Śiva-rahasya : An Old Unpublished Manuscript 57
   — *Satya Deva Misra*

5. The Rāmacaritam of Ciraman : Its Significance in Malayalam Language and Literature 73
   — *T.B. Venugopala Panickar*

6. Editing of Āyurvedic Manuscripts 84
   — *S.D. Kamat*

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7. The Dravyanāmākara Nighaṇṭu of Bhisma Vaidya: An Unpublished Lexicographical Work on Medicinal Plants 102
— *S.D. Kamat*

8. Tribal Heritage and Indigenous Philosophical Wisdom of Odisha : Tradition, Practice and Contribution to Indian Knowledge System 112
— *Kishore Kumar Tripathy*

9. Glimpses of Archival Manuscripts 131
— *Zareena Parveen*

10. Gāndhārī: A Key Mother Figure of the Mahābhārata 144
— *Urmi Shah*

11. Depiction of Indian Culture in Sanskrit Inscriptions of Cambodia 153
— *C. Upender Rao*

12. फ़ारसीकथा–परम्पराऔरआरब्ययामिनी *161*
— राधावल्लभत्रिपाठी

Contributors 178

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Scheme of Transliteration

Vowels

अ (*a*)	आ (*ā*)	इ (*i*)	ई (*ī*)	उ (*u*)	ऊ(*ū*)
ऋ (*ṛ*)	ॠ (*ṝ*)	ऌ (*ḷ*)	ए (e)	ऐ (ai)	ओ (o)
औ (au)					

Consonants

क (ka)	ख (kha)	ग (ga)	घ (gha)	ङ (ṅa)
च (ca)	छ (cha)	ज (ja)	झ (jha)	ञ(ña)
ट (ṭa)	ठ (ṭha)	ड (ḍa)	ढ (ḍha)	ण(ṇa)
त (ta)	थ (tha)	द (da)	ध (dha)	न(na)
प (pa)	फ (pha)	ब (ba)	भ (bha)	म(ma)

Semi Vowels

य (ya)	र (ra)	ल(la)	व (va)	ळ (ḷa)

Sibilants

श (śa)	ष (ṣa)	स (sa)

Aspirate

ह (ha)

Anusvāra and Visarga

ं (ṁ/ṃ) : (ḥ)

Ānunāsika

ँ (~) e.g. अँ (ã) आँ (ã)

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Accessing Manuscripts in the Digital Age

Part II*

A Pipeline to Create a Hypertext Catalogue and Searchable Excess to Manuscript Images

Peter M. Scharf

Abstract: As the principal medium of knowledge transmission shifts from handwritten and printed materials to the Internet, increasingly scholars expect to be able to find what they are looking for within seconds in an Internet search. In order to meet the expectations of today's Internet users while at once providing high-quality access to detailed information about Sanskrit manuscripts, the Sanskrit Library developed a pipeline to produce integrated hypertext access to manuscript metadata and images. This access includes a digital descriptive manuscript catalogue and a search interface that provides focused access to sought passages in digital images of manuscript pages. While the catalogue structure and text-image alignment software used to create the text-search facility are described in detail elsewhere, the current paper describes the process by which similar integrated hypertext access may be created for any manuscript collection.

Keywords: Sanskrit manuscripts, digital images, catalogue, text-image alignment, computational linguistics.

Engaging the Sanskrit Manuscript Crisis

SANSKRIT was the dominant language of the transmission of

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knowledge and culture in India for more than three millennia and is the language of an enormous and diverse scientific and cultural heritage. The late prominent historian of science, Indologist and manuscriptologist David Pingree estimated that manuscripts in Sanskrit number as many as thirty million. Surveys conducted by the National Mission for Manuscripts (NMM) have already counted more than five million. Only a small fraction of the manuscripts in India have even been catalogued, much less utilized for the production of critical editions. Since the introduction of movable type presses in India in the late eighteenth century, the tradition of manuscript copying diminished and all but ceased during the last century. Except in a few climate-controlled libraries, manuscripts in India — mostly written on palm leaf and paper — are exposed to high humidity and variant temperatures. Even under good conditions they last no more than 300 to 500 years. Hence more than half of their lifespan has elapsed. Already obscure due to their replacement by the print medium as the dominant means of knowledge transmission, manuscripts are becoming more obscure as the dominant mode of knowledge transmission shifts to the Internet.

Internet users today expect to be able to find what they are looking for within seconds in a Web search. As younger generations become more accustomed to accessing knowledge in the digital medium, they exert less effort to locate materials in printed and handwritten form. Less used, fewer resources are dedicated to make them accessible. No longer the dominant means of knowledge transmission, they are removed to off-site archives, further from the reach of the scholars who seek them. Having come to require extra measures and time to retrieve, they are in danger of receding even further from the domain of scholarly research and public engagement. As popular trends in scholarship divert attention from the acquisition of the fundamental philological and linguistic skills required for the demanding task of critical editing, manuscripts in particular are neglected. The knowledge in these heritage documents is therefore in peril of being lost.

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The programme of the NMM to preserve, digitize, catalogue and encourage critical editing of manuscripts is laudable. Yet contemporary models and procedures for displaying digital images, cataloguing manuscripts and critical editing remain dominated by those of the print medium. New models that fully utilize the facilities of the digital medium are necessary to meet the expectations of contemporary and future researchers and to provide convenient access to the general public. To meet these expectations for manuscript access, the Sanskrit Library developed a pipeline for digitally imaging, cataloguing and integrating Sanskrit manuscripts with digital texts and linguistic software in an HTML interface. In a project funded by the US National Endowment for the Humanities 2009-12 entitled, "Enhancing access to primary cultural heritage materials of India: Integrating images of literary sources with digital texts, lexical resources, linguistic software, and the web", digital images of 160 Sanskrit manuscripts, numbering 25,000 pages, that represent two central Indic texts, the *Mahābhārata* and the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, in the Brown University and University of Pennsylvania libraries were produced and aligned with their corresponding digital texts in the Sanskrit Library. The author and Ralph Bunker, a computer scientist at Maharishi University of Management, developed a comprehensive dynamic catalogue that allows access to manuscripts via numerous criteria, and a search interface that permits focused access to particular passages on manuscript pages by way of searching for the passage in corresponding digital text. The project also developed templates and software to facilitate collection, organization, validation, transformation and presentation of data. The author describes the catalogue structure and text–image alignment software used to create the text-search facility in detail in a previous article in the *Tattvabodha* series. The templates and software, and the process by which similar integrated hypertext access may be created for any manuscript collection, are described here.

Steps to Create Integrated Hypertext Manuscript Access

The process of creating integrated hypertext access to a manuscript

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collection involves creating a detailed catalogue entry for each manuscript and producing a digital image of each page of the manuscript. The Sanskrit Library produced a template based upon the Text Encoding Initiative's manuscript guidelines (TEI-ms) that includes all the information desired for a complete descriptive catalogue entry in accordance with the standards of the American Committee for South Asian Manuscripts. While the information recommended to be collected and where to place it in the Sanskrit Library's TEI-ms template is described in full in the author's previous article in the *Tattvabodha* series, the following sections describe the steps to collect data and the software and templates used to process it.

PRESERVATION, RATIONALIZATION AND BASIC PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION

Although it is possible to begin the process of producing integrated hypertext manuscript access either by producing digital images first or by cataloguing first, an unknown manuscript demands some attention prior to digitizing. First of all one must attend to the state of preservation of the manuscript. If leaves are stuck together, torn or fragile, it is advisable to have a professional conservationist treat the manuscript. Second, one must rationalize the manuscript and collect some basic metadata about it. Rationalizing the manuscript requires one to put the folios in their proper order and orientation. The manuscript may contain gaps, there may be leaves of other manuscripts interspersed, sections or independent works may be numbered separately, the original enumeration may be erroneous, leaves may be scrambled, etc. To rationalize a manuscript therefore requires the attention of a competent scholar capable of reading the script and knowledgeable in the language. Rationalization may also require comparison with editions of the works included in the manuscript and may need specialists in their subject matter. While one could proceed first to collect all the information necessary to produce a complete catalogue entry and insert this information in the Sanskrit Library TEI-ms template while initially examining a manuscript, this is not necessary, and some tasks may be easier to

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achieve by working with the digital images after the manuscript is digitized. Digitized images may be magnified to read small characters for instance, and digital image displayers can flip pages much more quickly and safely than one can turn the leaves of a stack of paper or palm leaves. The ease of flipping through digital images makes it simpler to check enumeration, look for corrections and additions, transcribe passages, evaluate hands, describe decoration, etc. after digitization is complete. It is advisable, however, to accomplish all the tasks that require physically handling the manuscript at the start. These tasks include the following:

1. Note whether there is a binding, its type and materials.
2. Note whether there is any accompanying matter and describe it.
3. Order and orient the leaves correctly so that the text proceeds in sequence.
4. Obtain measurements of the height and width of a typical leaf.
5. Note the type of object: folia vs codex.
6. Describe the substrate material.
7. Look for and describe watermarks.
8. Count the leaves.
9. Note missing leaves and enumeration errors and create a foliation formula.
10. Note which leaves are attached and create a collation formula.

Basic information describing these features should be entered in the XML TEI-ms catalogue entry file for the manuscript. A template may be tailored to include some project specific information and then duplicated for each new entry as it is created. The primary identifier should be entered in the *collection* and *idno* sub-elements of the *msIdentifier* element. The form of the object ("folia" or

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"codex") should be noted in the form attribute of the *objectDesc* element. A description of the material should be entered in the *support.material* element, and descriptions of the binding and seal in the *bindingDesc.binding*, *bindingDesc.condition* and *sealDesc.seal* elements. (A dot in an element name is used to indicate its path; the name of the particular element referred to follows the last dot; preceding each dot is the name of the parent element of the element following the dot.) Any accompanying matter should be described in the *accMat* element. The number of leaves should be noted in the *extent.measure* element, and measurements should be noted in the *extent.dimensions* element. The enumeration of the leaves should be described, and any anomalies, such as missing leaves, skipped numbers or duplicate numbers, noted in the *foliation* element. A formula of the enumeration should be entered in the *foliation. formula* sub-element. A range is indicated by a double hyphen in the catalogue entry file and is represented by an n-dash in the HTML produced from it. Each consecutive set of numbers is recorded after an uppercase Roman numeral followed by a colon and is separated by a semicolon from the previous set. Where numbers are erroneously repeated, lowercase letters in square brackets following each repeated number distinguish the synonymously numbered leaves. Lowercase Roman numerals designate blank leaves. If there is more than one system of numbering the same set of leaves, an original and modern one for instance, each foliation scheme should be described in a separate *foliation* element. The attachment of leaves should likewise be described in the *collation* element, and a formula describing the attachment entered in the *collation.formula* sub-element. The XML catalogue entry file, named with a standard group abbreviation and sequence number, *abbr1.xml* should be placed in the directory *data/projectName/xml/entries/groupName/*. Table 1 shows the hierarchy of directories and indicates which contain files produced manually, which contain files produced automatically by the Sanskrit Library software, and which, though initially produced automatically, need to be edited.

While it is possible to edit and rearrange digital images even

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Table 1: Sanskrit Library Manuscript Access Project File Hierarchy

Path	*Production*
data/projects.xml	automatic
data/texts/	manual
data/transcoders/	manual
data/projectName/catIndex.html	automatic
data/projectName/textIndex.html	automatic
data/projectName/xml/index.xml	supplied/ editable
data/projectName/xml/layout.xml	supplied/ editable
data/projectName/xml/entries/groupName/	template/ manual
data/projectName/xml/entriesCumFac/groupName/	automatic
data/projectName/xml/pages/groupName/	automatic/ editable
data/projectName/xml/annotations/groupName/	automatic
data/projectName/xml/marc/groupName/	automatic
data/projectName/html/entries/groupName/	automatic
data/projectName/html/folio/groupName/	automatic
data/projectName/reports/	automatic
data/projectName/images/tiff/groupName/	manual
data/projectName/images/full/original/groupName/	automatic
data/projectName/images/full/cropped/groupName/	automatic
data/projectName/images/full/cropped/groupName/xml/	automatic
data/projectName/images/half/original/groupName/	automatic
data/projectName/images/half/cropped/groupName/	automatic
data/projectName/images/half/cropped/groupName/xml/	automatic
data/projectName/images/quarter/original/groupName/	automatic
data/projectName/images/quarter/cropped/groupName/	automatic
data/projectName/images/quarter/cropped/groupName/xml/	automatic
data/projectName/images/petit/original/groupName/	automatic
data/projectName/images/petit/cropped/groupName/	automatic
data/projectName/images/petit/cropped/groupName/xml/	automatic

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if a disordered or mangled manuscript is digitized, it is far easier to order the physical manuscript because leaves are generally numbered only on one side and it is not possible to look at the back of a digital image. Hence the manuscript should be rationalized prior to digitization. Measurements must be made on the physical object. Digital display programmes differ in how they display data, and it will not be easy to evaluate the size of the imaged item without detailed information about the distance of the original item from the camera, detailed camera specifications and complex mathematics. Digital images usually do not capture paper thickness or texture. It is advisable to take a highly magnified image of a typical sample of the substrate material to show its texture and to perform a chemical analysis as well. Such data may be used subsequently to identify the substrate material and hence the history of the manuscript. Viewing leaves with a backlight provides the best way to see watermarks. Once this basic physical information is obtained and the manuscript is provided an identifier, the rest of the cataloguing information can be obtained from the digital images.

DIGITIZATION

Digitization should be done with high-quality equipment under ideal lighting conditions by professional photographers with immediate quality control to insure that the best quality images are produced with least distress to the manuscript. The process should never have to be repeated and one should never have to look back at the original to answer any questions about the manuscript. Colour images should be captured with a resolution of at least 300 dpi at a copy stand with camera fixed overhead and lights at 45° angles on both sides. For uninked palm-leaf manuscripts it may be desirable to allow shadow from a single light to create contrast. A colour-balancing measuring stick should be included in images to allow subsequent proper colour balancing and sizing. Every item of the manuscript, including covers, binding, seals, blank folios, wrappers and accompanying matter should be imaged. Images should be archived in files in the lossless uncompressed tagged image file format (TIFF), tagged with a colorspace profile. Leaves should

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be imaged individually as far as possible. In paper manuscripts, a single folded sheet of paper often forms two attached folios. In this case it may be necessary to create digital images in pairs: the verso of one folio and the recto of the next.

Images should be checked immediately for focus by examining the precision at five times normal size. It will often be desirable for scholars to be able to view images at 500 per cent magnification to examine particular characters. Immediately, on the site of imaging, before the manuscript is returned to its casing and storage location, a competent scholar should verify that images are correctly oriented, in proper order and complete. In our project, delaying such quality control to a later time off site resulted in months of extra work tallying manuscript images. After manuscript images were shipped to us in bulk, we identified poor-quality images and requested remakes. Librarians had to recall the item, photographers had to retake and reship, we had to re-receive, rename, replace, reorder, and re-annotate. It was difficult in the absence of the original to determine whether unexpected gaps were due to missing leaves in the original or missing images. All of this extra work would have been avoided if a scholar had checked the digital images of the manuscript on site immediately after it was digitized.

IMAGE TRANSFORMATION CROPPING AND VALIDATION

After digitization, images are processed by software to produce joint photographic experts group (JPEG) copies of various sizes: full-size, half-size, quarter-size and petit (5 per cent). The user simply locates the directory in which the images are stored in the directory path *data/projectName/images/tiff/groupName/* and runs software to produce JPEG copies of the archival TIFF images. The copies are automatically arranged in a predetermined parallel directory structure.

To assist in the validation of image referencing, Bunker wrote the Sanskrit Library's Folio software. Folio first utilizes the original image directory to create an XML file that describes the sequence of images. This extensible markup language (XML) file is located in a parallel path *data/projectName/xml/pages/groupName/msName.*

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xml. Subsequently Folio reads the foliation formula from the XML TEI-ms catalogue entry file previously placed in *data/projectName/xml/entries/groupName/* (see Section "Preservation" p. 6 and Table 1 on p. 7) and infers from it the logical name of each manuscript image. These names designate each folio number and side (recto/verso) in sequence: f. 1r, f. 1v, etc. If a manuscript contains more than one set of leaves numbered independently, such as when more than one work is included in a single manuscript or when each major section of a work is numbered independently, each new set is designated by a Roman numeral: f. I:1r, f. I:1v, . . .; f. II:1r, f. II:1v, etc. Folio displays petit images beside the inferred numbers listed beneath each actual image filename, flags incongruences between the number of inferred pages and number of images in a convenient HTML display and generates a report of misalignments. Incongruences will occur because the foliation formula includes only manuscript pages, not other imaged items such as bindings and accompanying matter. One can fix these incongruences by editing the pages file created from the original image directory. This file contains an XML element that describes each image and a head element that defines defaults of the manuscript. The defaults indicate how many pages to expect for each image (usually one or two). Any departures from the norm are indicated by editing an attribute in the element that describes the image concerned. Thus if the norm for a manuscript is that each image contains two pages, the verso of one folio and the recto of the next, then the header element will contain the attribute *normalPageCount* = '2' . The first and last images of the manuscript, however, will contain just a single image each; the first will have the recto of the first folio and the last will have the verso of the last folio. The XML elements that describe these pages will have the attribute *anomaly* = '1'. In the element that describes an image of a binding or accompanying matter, one must insert the attribute *anomaly* = '0'. One can rerun the Folio program until the HTML display shows the correct logical name for each manuscript image and generates no alignment errors.

Donglai Wei, a graduate of Brown University and graduate

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student at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, wrote image processing software for our project to split and crop digital images of manuscripts to facilitate closer Web viewing. The software split images of pairs of leaves, closely cropped each around the leaf itself, excluded the colour-balancing measuring stick and corrected skew. Running this software on the JPEG images of a project will create cropped and split images to be linked with catalogue entries and digital text in Web display. The software utilizes the logical names created and validated by the Folio software to create an XML file linking the logical name of each created image with the new image and the zone in which it occurs in its parent image.

CATALOGUE ENTRY CREATION

With digital images at his disposal, a scholar can now complete the cataloguing of each manuscript with greater ease. Besides collecting descriptive information in various categories and inserting it in appropriate elements in the Sanskrit Library TEI-ms template as outlined in my previous article in the *Tattvabodha* series, the cataloguer should transcribe all relevant text, namely, rubrics, incipits, explicits, final rubrics and colophons, and the text preceding and following any gaps in the manuscript, in elements in the text area of the TEI-ms template. The location of text is indicated using page and line break elements (e.g. *<pb n = '1r' facs = 'f1r'/>*, *<lb n = '1'/>*). The page break elements contain a *facs* attribute that refers to the logical name of the digital image of that page, here f.1r. Gaps in the transcript are indicated using a *gap* element with the value *partialTranscript* in the *reason* attribute. Each unit of text to be referenced in the catalogue description is supplied with an identifier in an *xml:id* attribute. The elements in the TEI-ms template header that describe rubrics, incipits, explicits, final rubrics, colophons and gaps simply indicate references to these identifiers using linking attributes in order to include the relevant text at the appropriate point in the catalogue entry. The location of the passage in the manuscript is indicated using a *locus* element that contains a *facs* attribute designating the logical name of the page image. These location elements will be used to create

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links in the HTML page generated from the XML catalogue entry file. Notes supply bibliographic reference to the text corresponding to the text of transcribed passages in published editions. Where a digital edition is available, the *biblScope* sub-element in the *bibl* element in a note is supplied with linking attributes (*from* and *to*, or *corresp*) that will be used to create an HTML link to the digital text in the HTML catalogue entry.

CATALOGUE ENTRY DISPLAY GENERATION

The Sanskrit Library Siva software automatically generates an HTML file for each Sanskrit Library XML TEI-ms catalogue entry file that neatly formats all the information and creates links to images and corresponding digital text. The XML file that associates logical page names with image files is inserted in the *facsimiles* element of the XML file and is used to generate a section in the HTML file that provides sequential access to each page of the manuscript. In addition, *facs* attributes in the TEI-ms header and page break elements in the manuscript transcription are used to create links directly to images via their logical names. The linking attributes *from*, *to* and *corresp* in *biblScope* elements are likewise used to create HTML links to passages in HTML displays of the digital edition.

The Sanskrit Library Siva software utilizes the file *layout.xml* to guide the formatting of the HTML display of catalogue entries. The layout file contains *map* elements that specify the character formatting of Sanskrit terms in SLP1 encoding used as the value of attributes in the XML catalogue entries. For instance, the Sanskrit terms for text divisions and metrical patterns are used as attributes of *div* and *lg* elements respectively. The layout file contains styles for text copied from the transcription section of the TEI-ms element to the catalogue display. It contains markup instructions to be used for formatting the typeface and colour, or for placing certain XML elements in certain character contexts. The content of XML elements designating scribal additions, deletions and errors, editorial

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additions, quotations, etc. for example, are set in parenthesis, square brackets, exclamation points, angle brackets, quotes, etc. Finally, the layout file contains sections that specify elements to ignore in certain sections of the display. This last allows different views to be created from the text transcription: notes and bibliographic references may be hidden in the manuscript layout display of text while folio and line numbers may be hidden in the text structure display of the transcription.

CONVERSION TO MaRC DATA

Besides converting the XML TEI-ms catalogue entry to HTML display, the Sanskrit Library also produced software to convert the XML catalogue entry to the machine-readable catalogue format (MaRC XML) generally used by libraries in the US and UK for their standard library catalogues. This allows the manuscript catalogue entries prepared in the Sanskrit Library's TEI-ms catalogue templates to be converted and uploaded to the Library of Congress catalogue system for display in the regular library catalogue of the institution that houses the collection. Conversely, software to convert from the MaRC XML format allows catalogue data previously available in a library's standard catalogue to be inserted in the Sanskrit Library XML TEI-ms catalogue entry at the start of creating a full descriptive manuscript catalogue entry.

CATALOGUE INDEX GENERATION

The Sanskrit Library-created software to create a comprehensive manuscript catalogue index from TEI-ms catalogue entries. The software collects information in various elements in various paths from the XML catalogue entry files, and summarizes and groups that information in several panes of a dynamic HTML catalogue (*catindex.html*) in accordance with specifications in a driver file *index .xml*. The driver file specifies the names of each pane and the labels for each category to be displayed in that pane and specifies the paths in which that information is located in the TEI-ms catalogue entries. The driver file permits one to specify certain keywords to list in menus in the catalogue pane as well as to designate certain

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categories as searchable by an unrestricted full text search.

The tasks and software described in this section form a pipeline by which hypertext access may be created for any manuscript collection with less effort than it would take merely to create a printed descriptive catalogue and digital images of the collection. Moreover the pipeline permits results to be produced and displayed incrementally. Even if the images and TEI-ms file are prepared for a single manuscript, the software can be run to create a hypertext display and catalogue. Since the pipeline has been prepared, any collection, no matter how large or small, may be run through it to produce a dynamic catalogue, elegant entry displays and linked access to manuscript images.

Steps to Create Focused Access to Sought Passages in Manuscript Images via a Corresponding Digital Edition

In order to allow the standard search facilities to which contemporary Internet users are accustomed to reach Sanskrit manuscripts, it is necessary to coordinate manuscript images with a corresponding digital edition of the work the manuscript contains. Multiple manuscripts may be aligned with the same digital text to allow search access to pages in each manuscript that contains a particular text. A high degree of alignment can be achieved without making an exact transcription of the manuscripts. The alignment of multiple manuscripts with a digital text results in a powerful search facility that provides unprecedented quick and easy access to previously obscure primary heritage materials. The effect of bringing primary heritage materials to the fingertips of scholars around the world and to the general public can only be to deepen scholarship, enrich public knowledge and inspire research to utilize hitherto inaccessible materials. It will also motivate and ease the preparation of more and better critical editions.

DIGITAL EDITION CREATION

In order to align digital text with digital images, one needs digital text. By digital text is meant machine-readable character data, not a digital image of a text. Independent scholars have been

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creating digital editions of Sanskrit texts for several decades. H.S. Ananthanarayana created a digital edition of the *Ṛgveda* as far back as 1970-71 in a project directed by W.P. Lehmann at the University of Texas at Austin and funded by the U.S. National Endowment for the Humanities. Over several decades, the Thesaurus Indogermanischer Text- und Sprachmaterialien (TITUS) project created a well-edited, large repository of digital texts through the contributions of individual scholars (<http://titus.uni-frankfurt.de/indexe.htm>). The Göttingen Register of Electronic Texts in Indian Languages (GRETIL) houses a large body of digital texts available for download (<http://gretil.sub.uni-goettingen.de/gretil.htm>). The Sanskrit Library itself hosts a large body of digital texts (<http://www.sanskritlibrary.org/>). Numerous other sites have appeared in recent years housing various digital Sanskrit texts. Many texts exist in digital editions but are not readily available on the Internet. Before undertaking to digitize a text, to avoid unnecessary effort, it would be advantageous to attempt to find a digital edition already in existence. It may help to post queries regarding the status of the text in Sanskrit-related Internet fora such as the Indology list (<http://indology.info>).

If a digital edition of the desired text does not already exist, a scholar may enter the text himself or hire a data-entry company. For its multi-dictionary project, the Sanskrit Library utilizes a data-entry company experienced in the data-entry of Sanskrit lexical resources. For the project to create a databank of Sanskrit grammatical texts headed by George Cardona and funded by the U.S. National Endowment for the Humanities in the early 1990s, scholars knowledgeable in Pāṇinian grammar undertook the data-entry themselves. In either case, an encoding and keyboard should be selected that are most suitable for the task at hand, i.e. data-entry.

Scharf and Hyman discuss issues related to encoding in their book *Linguistic Issues in Encoding Sanskrit* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass; Providence: The Sanskrit Library, 2011). Data-entry is independent of linguistic processing and display. Issues of unambiguity of the encoding, and familiarity and efficiency of the

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encoding and key arrangement are primary. Unicode Devanāgarī and Unicode Roman meet neither of these conditions. Popular meta-encodings like Kyoto-Harvard, ITrans, Velthuis, etc. may meet conditions of familiarity, but they do not disambiguate diphthongs (e.g. प्रौढ — *prauḍha*) from sequences of single vowels (e.g. प्रउग — *prauga*), nor do they handle Vedic characters comprehensively. The Sanskrit Library devised a comprehensive, unambiguous and efficient encoding scheme, Sanskrit Library Phonetic basic (SLP1), for the purpose of data-entry. Yet in some cases the Sanskrit Library devised simpler data-entry encodings based upon the diacritics used for the entry of classical Sanskrit texts printed in Romanization. This simple encoding allowed a professional typist ignorant of Sanskrit to enter the text at high-speed. The result was transcoded afterwards to SLP1 for linguistic processing and thence to Unicode Devanāgarī and Unicode Romanization for display purposes. The Sanskrit Library prepared a full suite of transcoding software to transcode to and from various standard encodings used for Sanskrit, including all of the major Indic scripts, Romanization and several popular meta-encodings. The transcoding software is driven by XML transcoder files that map one encoding to another. Additional transcoders are easy to produce, should a new encoding for data-entry be devised. The transcoding must be mapped to SLP1 and named *x_slp1.xml*, where *x* is a short unique name for the new transcoder. The new transcoder should simply be added to the directory *data/transcoders*.

It may be advantageous to undertake some analysis of a text and add higher-level markup at the time of data-entry. Data-entry by a professional company will be limited to marking up visually distinctive characteristics of the text. For example, text that appears in italics or bold can be so marked by inserting special characters just prior and just following the italicized or bold text. Text entered by competent Sanskrit scholars may add additional markup and may also analyse *sandhi* in the process of data-entry. The grammatical databank project undertook data-entry in *sandhi*-analysed form. The author produced software that restores the continuous text from the

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sandhi-analysed text. Care must be taken at the start of data-entry to insure that analysis is done in an unambiguous and consistent manner. A *padapāṭha* analysis, for example, is not an unambiguous *sandhi* analysis unless a convention is adopted to distinguish final *r* form final *s*. Additional markup might include marking citations, references, proper names, foreign words, etc. There is no limit to what might be marked up in a text. The Text-Encoding Initiative (<http://www.tei-c.org/>) has laid out extensive guidelines and recommendations for text markup that should be consulted by anyone intending to digitize a text.

When a digital text is available for alignment with manuscript images, it may be used in conjunction with the Sanskrit Library's image-text alignment software (SITA) to create annotations that will link text segments with regions in digital images of manuscript pages. These annotations form the basis of the system to create focused access to sought passages in manuscript pages. To use the digital text with SITA, place the digital text in the *data/texts* directory.

SANSKRIT IMAGE-TEXT ALIGNMENT (SITA)

The Sanskrit Library's Sanskrit image-text alignment (SITA) interface provides an environment in which a Sanskrit scholar can view the digital image of a manuscript beside the digital text of a corresponding edition and mark regions in the image and extents in the corresponding digital text. Any number of annotations of any size can be made in an image and each may be supplied with a comment, if desired. A standard set of comments is available from the comments menu activated by typing a forward slash in the comment field. Annotations are written to an XML file for each image. The SITA software is described in greater detail in the authors previous article in the *Tattvabodha* series.

SEARCH INTERFACE PRODUCTION SOFTWARE

Using the SITA annotations, Bunker's search interface production software (SIPS) creates an HTML version of the digital text with links to the images of each manuscript aligned with that text.

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The text index, located in *data/projectName/textIndex.html*, may be opened in a browser independently. In addition, it is accessible from HTML manuscript catalogue entries. The Folio software converts references in linking attributes in *biblScope* elements in manuscript catalogue entry XML files into links in the HTML versions that lead to particular lines in the HTML text files. The HTML text file highlights in yellow all segments of the displayed text that link to manuscript images. Clicking any such segment displays the text of the selected annotation in a green background, the text of other annotations in the same image in a blue background, and displays below these the image of the manuscript page with marks showing the beginning and end of the passage as originally annotated in the SITA software. A menu in the file permits one to view other manuscripts associated with the same text. A search field permits text search of the digital edition linked with its various associated manuscripts.

CONCLUSION

The transition of the dominant medium of knowledge transmission to the digital medium has created both a crisis and an opportunity for the preservation of manuscripts. To meet this crisis, the Sanskrit Library has striven to develop software and protocols to create the kind of access to manuscripts that is expected by contemporary Internet users. Meeting the expectations of Internet users requires providing a comprehensive, flexible digital catalogue index to HTML catalogue entries that conform to the highest standards of descriptive cataloguing while offering flexible views of transcription and links to related digital editions and manuscript images. In addition, it requires providing immediate focused access to sought passages in digital images of manuscript pages. The project undertaken over the past several years provided the opportunity to develop these facilities for a selected group of manuscripts. Yet more importantly, it provided the opportunity to develop software and protocols that may be used to develop these facilities for any collection of manuscripts, regardless of its size or location. The present paper described this software, these protocols and the steps

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required to utilize them to provide integrated hypertext access to a manuscript collection.

The steps to create integrated hypertext manuscript access, described in the sections of this paper, are summarized in Table 2. While certain steps of cataloguing a manuscript require handling the physical item, much of the description of a manucript is more easily performed using the digital images. Although the steps have been described above in an ideal order for a project to digitize and catalogue a collection, it is possible to produce a catalogue without images, if imaging is not immediately feasible. Likewise it is possible to create the integrated hypertext manuscript access for a collection that has already been digitized or for which a descriptive catalogue already exists. The existing data merely needs to be arranged as described above and as summarized in Table 1.

Table 2
Steps to Create Integrated Hypertext Manuscript Access

A. Create integrated hypertext manuscript access
   1. Preserve, rationalize and describe basic physical attributes
   2. Digitize
   3. Transform and crop images, and validate their references
   4. Create catalogue entries
   5. Generate catalogue entry display
   6. Convert to MaRC XML
   7. Generate catalogue index
B. Create focused access to sought passages in manuscript images
   1. Find or create a corresponding digital edition
   2. Align text and images using SITA
   3. Produce the search interface using SIPS

There is a great deal of flexibility in the pace of production of integrated hypertext manuscript access. Once the digital pipeline is set up for a project, items can be made available incrementally and the detail of catalogue entries can be expanded gradually. Updating the integrated hypertext catalogue requires just rerunning the

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software and takes just a few minutes. Therefore results can be made available immediately as they are processed. Since the overhead for the production of integrated hypertext access is small, this access can be provided to a collection of any size. The Sanskrit Library can offer to host small private digital collections on its server and incorporate hypertext access to collections in its digital catalogue. It is hoped that the software, protocols and process described here will serve to create integrated hypertext manuscript access to Sanskrit manuscripts wherever they are found.

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2

Physics in Ancient Indian Knowledge System

Shankar Gopal Nene

In India, the study of Vedas and other ancient scriptures related to various philosophies and spiritual knowledge done till today through popular means has been more or less complete and exhaustive. However, it has been observed that the studies of scriptures, related to physical subjects like astronomy, medicine, chemistry and engineering have never been given due consideration and importance. At the same time, thorough research work that some of the ancient scriptures related to above-mentioned topics demand has never been undertaken. For example, the *Vaiśeṣikasūtra* by Maharṣi Kaṇāda and subsequent commentaries on them, which are more or less, a "book of physics" have never been studied the way it should have been. As far as some of the scriptures related to philosophical knowledge in ancient Indian thoughts are concerned; a number of descriptions, notes, comments and critical studies are available to establish the principles and doctrines posited by these texts. However, in the last 2,000 years, no effort has ever been made to establish such principles mathematically. It would have been possible to establish some principles by experimental studies using some equipment; but it is really quite strange that such efforts were never made. In a Marathi encyclopaedia entitled *Marāṭhī Jñānakośa* compiled by S.V. Ketkar and published in 1922, in its section "History of Physics" it is mentioned that it is an "unwritten page". None of the ancient scriptures provides evidence for the existence of physical or material sciences in India. For this reason, and also for the reason mentioned above, for a very long time, there has been a

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great prejudice that ancient Indian knowledge tradition had never laid its hand on physical or material sciences.

Ancient Knowledge Base

Vedas mean knowledge; the Vedas are regarded as the most ancient scriptures in the whole world. The Vedas have dealt with each and every thing related to the life, as they contain the ultimate knowledge. It has been well established by various other ancient scriptures that people of ancient India had a very good knowledge of the various subjects related to science. Many manuscripts blonging to the Sūtra period (800–200 BCE) have been discovered which clearly show that ancient Indian people had the knowledge of various thoughts and principles related to Chemistry, Physics and Metallurgy and Mathematics. Not only this, they also had the knowledge of conducting "practicals" which were required to establish the principles related to the branches of science mentioned above. We will take up this opportunity to discuss about the knowledge ancient Indian people had regarding the physics and technology.

Aṁśubodhinīśāstra vis-à-vis Modern Physics and Technology

The *Aṁśubodhinī* is one of the works of the Sūtra period. Its *sūtra*s were created by Maharṣi Bharadvāja and an interpretation of them was written by the commentator Bodhānanda. The original work contained twelve chapters out of which only the first chapter is available under the title "Jagatsṛṣṭyadhikāraḥ" meaning a chapter containing description of cosmology. One copy of this manuscript was procured from the Oriental Institute of Baroda in 1994 by late Dr Narayan Gopal Dongre and the writer of this article. So, the study and the research on the above-said manuscript had thus begun. The whole chapter was interpreted; and a book under the title *Maharṣi Bharadvāja's Aṁśubodhinī-śāstram: Cosmology and Physics of Nuclear Particles in Ancient India — A Book of Modern Physics and Technology* was published at Pune.

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The *sūtra*s of Bharadvāja describe how this universe was created. The description exactly matches with the well-accepted description of cosmologist Stephen Hawkins who has earned a great name among the modern material scientists. The first *sūtra* is: *atha kalpasṛṣṭirātmatvāt sūryeṇa* (अथ कल्पसृष्टिरात्मत्वात् सूर्येण।). This means that the creation and development of all living and non-living things took place in Śvetavarāhakalpa from the Sun. Universes of different kinds were created from the primal atom (*paramāṇu*). The description starts with the primal atom and goes till describing the Big Bang. The whole description is about the creation of the universe which is more or less similar to the views of modern scientists.

Spectrometer or Varṇakramamāpakayantra or Dhvāntapramāpakayantra (ध्वान्तप्रमापकयंत्र)

In the *Aṁśubodhinī*, there are evidences to bear out that some considerably complex instruments and tools were in existence. One of them was *dhvāntapramāpakayantra* which is known as spectrometer in the modern context. *Dhvāntapramāpakayantra* was used for measuring the dispersion of sunrays. In astrophysics it was used for the spectral classification of *nakṣatra*s. The spectrophotometer devised through modern methods also, more or less, serves the same purpose. The synthesis of materials or alloys required to prepare the lens and windows of the spectrometer was known to the people of ancient India. Both Bharadvāja and Bodhānanda have given descriptions for devising such a spectrometer which was used for analysing and probing the creation of different star systems. Late Dr Narayan Gopal Dongre devised a spectrometer according to the methodology and process described in the *sūtra*s of Bharadvāja and illustrated by Bodhānanda. The spectrometer was on display and was, till recently, available for inspection in the Department of Material Sciences of Banaras Hindu University, Varanasi. Now, it has been shifted to Pune and is on display at Deccan College. The details of making and other descriptions appearing in the book *Aṁśubodhinīśāstram* have also been published in the *Journal of History of Science* published by the Indian National Science Academy, New Delhi and is also accessible on Internet.

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Prakāśastambhanābhidalauha (प्रकाशस्तंभनाभिदलौह): Novel Infrared Transparent Material of Range 5000–1400 cm^{-1}

Ancient India had made many advances in the field of metallurgy. One can see such descriptions across various ancient scriptures. In this context, the synthesis of a very special material "Infrared Transparent Material of Range 5000–1400cm^{-1}" is very significant. This material was synthesized by late Narayan Gopal Dongre from Varanasi at the National Metallurgical Laboratory (NML), Jamashedpur with the help of the then Director of the NML and Dr Dongre's colleagues, with the help of methodology and process given by Bharadvāja. The special property of this material, which is used for creating the windows and prisms, is that it is non-hygroscopic in contrast to the other such materials which were earlier used for such purposes. The earlier used materials were losing their infrared transparency due to moisture, whereas the novel material which was specially synthesized retained its properties despite such conditions. At the same time it is also rust-resistant.

Both the materials developed through research are not only unique for their functionality, but also for the obvious evidence which they provide for the in-depth knowledge the ancient Indians had in material science and other branches of science. Besides, Bharadvāja had also given descriptions for the methodology of the synthesis of many other materials and devices. As described above, it also encompasses the synthesis of many optical materials like prisms, windows and lenses. Some of such materials are *ūṣṇāpahārakalauha*, *chāyāpravibhājakalauha* and *prakāśastambhanābhidalauha*. For details please refer to Dongre and Nene (2009) (bhardvaja).

Till now we have discussed the research which has its concern with the modern material science — the cosmology, space science and the technology part of it. Now we will discuss about the general material science as known to ancient India.

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Material Science in Ancient India

Through the research concluded recently it has come to fore that the *Vaiśeṣikasūtra* of Sage Kaṇāda posits the principles of physics in toto. The *Vaiśeṣikasūtra* is expected to have written in between 500 and 200 BCE). The commentary on this work was written by Praśastapāda, which is known as the *Padārthadharmasaṁgraha*. Traditionally, the Vaiśeṣika is considered as one of the main six schools of Indian philosophy. But this *darśana*, like other *darśanas* does not provide ground only for spirituality, but it is firmly and totally based on the principles of science. And this has been proved now. Along with Narayan Gopal Dongre, for years together, I have done a lot of research on the subject Dongre and Nene (2009a).

Seven Basic Fundamental Quantities (Padārtha) of Vaiśeṣika Physics

The seven basic fundamental quantities of Vaiśeṣika physics are:

1. *dravya* (the basic physical quantity) or *padārthas* (matter),
2. *guṇas* (properties of these quantities),
3. *karma* (the motion),
4. *sāmānya* (the set),
5. *viśeṣa* (the partlessness), and
6. *samavāya* (concomitance).

DRAVYA (BASIC PHYSICAL QUANTITY)

The basic physical quantities of the matter, according to Vaiśeṣikaśāstra, are of nine types:

1. solid
2. liquid
3. energy
4. gas
5. plasma (*ākāśa*)
6. *diśā* (length vector)
7. time

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8. soul (*ātmā*)
9. mind (*manas*).

Manas (mind) or *ātmā* (soul), which, according to Vaiśeṣikaśāstra, are cognitive elements, and, therefore, in our opinion, are integral quantities of physics, have hardly any independent mention in modern physics. However, according to the Vaiśeṣika Śāstra there should be someone who is the observer, doer and endurer. In the Vaiśeṣika Śāstra there is mention of *bhoktā*, the one who endures. Vaiśeṣika physics is at a higher level than the modern physics. It further says that knowledge of self and the ultimate ending of the sorrows can take place only after the knowledge of self (*ātmajñāna*) and the mind is attained. Knowledge of self and the ultimate end of sorrows pave the way for *mokṣa*. The unique thing about the Vaiśeṣika Śāstra is that it considers that knowledge of physical quantities is essential for the knowledge of the self (*ātman*). The other Indian *darśanas* do not necessarily consider this. It is important that Vaiśeṣika Śāstra has included the soul (*ātman*) and mind (*manas*) as basic physical quantities. Maybe, the reason for doing so is that Vaiśeṣika Śāstra wants to treat the Self (*ātman*) and the *manas* (mind) at par with other seven physical quantities to elaborate the point that these are also physical quantities. A detailed discussion on the subject has been given in our book Dongre and Nene (2009a).

PROPERTIES (GUṆAS) OF PHYSICAL QUANTITIES

The first four types of matter, i.e. solid (*pṛthvī* or earth), liquid (*āpaḥ* or water), energy (*tejas*) and gas (*vāyu*) are not eternal; in contrast, plasma (*ākāśa*), time (*kāla*) and length vector (*dik*) are of eternal or continuum type. Because of this classification, the properties of the matter can also be of three types:

1. Those that relate to the eternal type of matter,
2. those that relate to the non-eternal type of matter, and
3. those that relate to both the categories of matter.

Vaiśeṣika has listed the following twenty-four properties:

1. रूप (*rūpa*) = colour,

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2. रस (*rasa*) = taste,
3. गन्ध (*gandha*) = smell,
4. स्पर्श (*sparśa*) = temperature,
5. संख्या (*saṁkhyā*) = number,
6. परिमाण (*parimāṇa*) = unit,
7. पृथक्त्व (*pṛthaktva*) = separateness,
8. संयोग (*saṁyoga*) = conjunction,
9. विभाग (*vibhāga*) = disconjunction,
10. परत्व (*paratva*) = priority/largeness,
11. अपरत्व (*aparatva*) = posteriority/smallness,
12. गुरुत्व (*gurutva*) = gravity,
13. द्रवत्व (*dravatva*) = cohesion,
14. स्नेह (*sneha*) = adhesion,
15. शब्द (*śabda*) = wave aspect,
16. बुद्धि (*buddhi*) = intellect,
17. सुख (*sukha*) = pleasure,
18. दुःख (*duḥkha*) = pain,
19. इच्छा (*icchā*) = desire,
20. द्वेष (*dveṣa*) = prejudice,
21. प्रयत्न (*prayatna*) = volition,
22. धर्म (*dharma*) = cosmic order,
23. अधर्म (*adharma*) = cosmic degeneracy/entropy,
24. संस्कार (*saṁskāra*) = force.

All of these properties have been dealt with in greater details in our book (Dongre and Nene 2009a).

KARMA (MOTION)

In the *Vaiśeṣikasūtra* and also in commentaries, five types of motion have been listed:

1. *utkṣepaṇa*: motion against gravity or upward motion,
2. *avakṣepaṇa*: motion along gravity or downward motion,
3. *ākuñcana*: motion causing shear stress,

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4. *prasāraṇa*: motion causing tensile stress,
5. *gamana*: linear motion or rectilinear motion.

The causes for the first and second type of motions are gravity (*gurutva*) and mechanical actions, and the fifth is due to mechanical force or efforts only.

SĀMĀNYA (THE SET)

Sāmānya = set, Vaiśeṣika describes three sets:

1. *parasāmānya* = universal set,
2. *aparasāmānya* = element, and
3. *parāparasāmānya* = subset.

Vaiśeṣika gives examples of these categories as physical quantity (*bhāvapadārtha*), fundamental physical quantity (*dravya*) and earthen pot (*ghaṭa*), respectively.

VIŚEṢA (PARTLESSNESS)

Viśeṣa = partlessness, *paramāṇu* = quantum (finite), *vibhu* = continuum (infinite). The cause of cognition of ultimate difference is called *viśeṣa* (specific). *Viśeṣa* is the central concept of Vaiśeṣika philosophy, and that is why it is known as Vaiśeṣika Darśana. The physical quantity bearing *viśeṣa* (ultimate and partless character) is termed as *dravya* (fundamental physical quantity). According to *Vaiśeṣikasūtra*, such partless quantities are *ākāśa* (plasma), *dik* (length vector), *kāla* (time), *ātman* (soul/self) and atoms of *pṛthvī* (solid), *āpaḥ* (liquid), *tejas* (radiant energy), *vāyu* (gas) and *manas* (mind).

According to physics, solid, liquid, gas and plasma are mere states of matter and energy, and may mutually transform into each other; therefore, they represent a single measurable fundamental physical quantity, "mass". This mass can dwell in space–time continuum (*vibhu*) and therefore the measurement of length vector (*dik*) and time (*kāla*) becomes the second and third fundamental physical quantities, respectively. In physics, mass, length vector and time are the three fundamental physical quantities. This classification has essentially the same basis as that of Vaiśeṣika,

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namely, the ultimate and partless character.

SAMAVĀYA (CONCOMITANCE)

The matter occurs in three gross states: solid, liquid and gas. When the temperature of solid increases it turns into liquid. When the temperature of the liquid is further increased, it then turns into gas. When the temperature is very low the matter exists in ultraliquid state and at a very high temperature the matter exists in plasma state as in *ākāśa*.

According to the Vaiśeṣikaśāstra the matter can exist in the following five states: *ākāśa* or the plasma, *vāyu* (gas), *agni* or *teja* (energy), *āpaḥ* (liquid state), *pṛthvī* (solid state).

The *Taittirīya Upaniṣad* says:

तस्माद्वा एतस्मादात्मन आकाशस्संभूतः। आकाशात् वायुः।। वायोः अग्निः। अग्नेः आपः। अद्भ्यः पृथिवी।।

tasmādvā etasmādātmana ākāśassaṁbhūtaḥ । ākāśāt vāyuḥ ॥ vāyoḥ agniḥ । agneḥ āpaḥ । adbhyaḥ pṛthivī ॥

The cosmic creation follows a certain order: from the *aṇu* is synthesized the *dvyaṇuka* and from it the *trasareṇu* is synthesized.

According to the modern physics *aṇu*, *dvyaṇuka* and *trasareṇu* or *tryaṇuka* are called atom, molecule and the smallest colloidal particle, respectively.

The *Praśastapādabhāṣya* describes the sequence in the following way:

परमहत्त्वं अनित्यं त्र्यणुकादेव। तत्रेश्वरबुद्धिमपेक्ष्योत्पन्ना परमाणुद्व्यणुकेषु बहुत्वसंख्यातैरारब्धे कार्यद्रव्ये त्र्यणुकादिलक्षणे रूपाद्युत्पत्तिसमकालं महत्त्वं दीर्घत्वं च करोति।

paramahattvaṁ anityaṁ tryaṇukādeva । tatreśvarabuddhimapekṣyotpatrā paramāṇudvyaṇukeṣu bahutvasṁkhyātairārabdhe kāryadravye tryaṇukādilakṣaṇe rūpādyutpattisamakālaṁ mahattvaṁ dīrghatvaṁ ca karoti ।

According to the *Vaiśeṣikasūtra* the atom does not have any property,

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but when the one atom combines with another atom it forms the *dvyaṇuka* (molecule). When the third atom joins the molecule it becomes tri-molecule (colloidal particle) or the *trasareṇu* and after that some properties are seen in it. So *trasareṇu* can be called as the smallest unit of the matter, this can also be called as the colloidal particle.

Metamorphosis in the Particle World: Mass in Neutrino

Till very recently, the comprehension persisted that neutrino is such a small unit of particle that it does not have mass. But in 2015, the Nobel Prize in Physics recognizes Takaaki Kajita of Japan and Arthur B. McDonald of Canada, for their key contributions to the experiments which demonstrated that neutrinos do have mass. Consequently, there is a big change in the identity of the neutrinos. The discovery of a kind of metamorphosis has changed the world's understanding of the innermost workings of matter and can prove crucial to our view of the universe. Takaaki Kajita presented the discovery that neutrinos from the atmosphere switch between two identities on their way to the Super-Kamiokande detector in Japan. Meanwhile, the research group in Canada led by Arthur B. McDonald could demonstrate that the neutrinos from the sun were not disappearing on their way to earth. Instead they were captured with a different identity when arriving to the Sudbury Neutrino Observatory.

In this context this is singnificant that in order to conduct this kind of experiment this is necessary to have a fully equipped underground observatory, at least in the depth of some kilometres. The fact cannot be overlooked that in 1965, one such observatory was made in the gold mines of Kollar in India. It is believed that this kind of research and experiment has been undertaken there, and some kind of work, connected with neutrinos, was being done there. This observatory was underground, 2 km in depth. It is believed that in 1992, this observatory had to be closed due to the lack of necessary funds and there were no more experiments. Experts believe that had that observatory been in existence Indians

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would have been the people to discover the mass in neutrinos.

The concept of mass inherent in the smallest particles has always been there in the ancient Indian knowledge system.

Vaiśeṣika considers that the fundamental factor of the length is the *paramāṇu*. The *paramāṇu* has been defined as follows:

जालान्तर्गते भानौ यत् सूक्ष्मं दृष्यते रजः।
तस्य षष्टितमो भागो परमाणुः प्रकीर्तितः॥

jālāntargate bhānau yat sūkṣmaṁ dṛṣyate rajaḥ ।
tasya ṣaṣṭitamo bhāgo paramāṇuḥ prakīrtitaḥ ॥

When the sunbeams are coming in through a window slit an atom, the mote or atom of dust is known as one *raja*. The sixtieth part of the *raja* is known as *paramāṇu*.

The units, for measuring the length is given as follows:

8 *paramāṇu*	= 1 *trasareṇu*	21 *aṅguli*	= 1 *ratni*
8 *trasareṇu*	= 1 *reṇu*	24 *aṅguli*	= 1 *hasta*
8 *reṇu*	= 1 *bālāgra*	4 *hasta*	= 1 *daṇḍa*
8 *bālāgra*	= 1 *likhya*	(or 96 *aṅguli*	= 1 *daṇḍa*)
8 *likhya*	= 1 *yūka*	2,000 *daṇḍa*	= 1 *krośa*
8 *yūka*	= 1 *yava*	4 *krośa*	= 1 *yojana*
8 *yava*	= 1 *aṅguli*	(or 8,000 *daṇḍa*	= 1 *yojana*)

Source: Dongre and Nene, 2017, p. 34.

In a similar manner, the units have been mentioned for measuring the weight, time and temperature. The units have been described in the *Vaiśeṣikasūtra* and other ancient Śāstras also. But because of the constraints of space, it is not possible to describe all of them here.

Five Types of Karmas

Five types of *karmas* have been described in the *Vaiśeṣikasūtra* as follows:

तत्र (1) उत्क्षेपणं शरीरावयवेषु तत्सम्बद्धेषु च यदूर्ध्वभाग्भिः प्रदेशैः संयोगकारण-
मधोभाग्भिश्च प्रदेशैः विभागकारणं कर्मोत्पद्यते, गुरुत्वप्रयत्नसंयोगेभ्यस्तत्

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उत्क्षेपणम्। (2) तद्विपरीतसंयोगविभागकारणं कर्मापक्षेपणम्। (3) ऋजुनो द्रवस्याग्रावयवानां तद्देशैर्विभागः संयोगश्च मूलप्रदेशैर्येन कर्मणावयवी कुटिलं संजायते तदाकुञ्चनम्। (4) तद्विपर्ययेण संयोगविभागोत्पत्तौ येन कर्मणावयवी ऋजुः सम्पद्यते तत्प्रसारणम्। (5) यदनियतदिक् प्रदेशसंयोगविभागकारणं तद्गमनमिति। एतत्पञ्चविधमपि कर्म शरीरावयवेषु तत्सम्बन्धेषु च सत्प्रत्ययमसत्प्रत्ययं च यदन्यत्तदप्रत्ययमेव तेष्वन्येषु च तद्गमनमिति – प्रशस्तपादभाष्यम्।

tatra (1) utkṣepaṇaṁ śarīrāvayaveṣu tatsambaddheṣu ca yadūrdhvabhāgbhiḥ pradeśaiḥ saṁyogakāraṇamadhobhāgbhiśca pradeśaiḥ vibhāgakāraṇaṁ karmotpadyate, gurutvaprayatna saṁyogebhyastat utkṣepaṇam । (2) tadviparītasaṁyogavibhāgakāraṇaṁ karmāpakṣepaṇam। (3) ṛjuno dravasyāgrāvayavānāṁ taddeśairvibhāgaḥ saṁyogaśca mūlapradeśairyena karmaṇāvayavī kuṭilaṁ sañjāyate tadākuñcanam । (4) tadviparyeṇa saṁyogavibhāgotpattau yena karmaṇāvayavī ṛjuḥ sampadyate tatprasāraṇam । (5) yadaniyatadik pradeśasaṁyogavibhāgakāraṇaṁ tadgamanamiti । etatpañcavidhmapi karma śarīrāvayaveṣu tatsambandheṣu ca satpratyayamasatpratyayaṁ ca yadanyattadapratyayameva teṣvanyeṣu ca tadgamanamiti — praśastapādabhāṣyam ।

We can understand the quote in the following manner:

When a physical quantity is coming in the contact of a space in the upward direction and it is getting separated from the space located in the downward direction, the motion is known as upward projection (*utkṣepaṇa*). However, the entity is getting separated from the space in the upward direction and is coming in the contact with the space in the downward direction, the motion is called as the downward projection (*avakṣepaṇa*). If the direction of the motion is not defined it can be simply called as *gamana karma*. Really speaking the word *gamana* is able to define all types of motion. The description of motion given in Vaiśeṣika is exactly same as the description of motion found in any of the text of modern physics.

Similarly the Vaiśeṣika also talks about the causes of the *karma* (motion). Afterwards it also talks about the measurement of the *gamana* (movement). The commentary on the *Vaiśeṣikasūtra* provides an in-depth study of the units. At the same time it also

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talks about the various types of forces like the mechanical force (*yāntrika bala*), gravitational force (*gurutva*), elasticity (*pratyāsthatā* or *sthitisthāpakatā*) and other invisible forces such as the magnetic forces generated through the gravity. Along with the force (*vega*), Vaiśeṣika has provided the mathematical expressions for the mass and the velocity of a physical entity undergoing motion.

Gravity and the Newton's Universal Law of Gravitation

According to the Vaiśeṣika the gravity is the reason for falling down of solid and liquid entities.

> गुरुत्वं जल-भूम्योः पतन-कर्म-कारणम्। अप्रत्यक्षं पतनकर्मानुमेयं संयोग-प्रयत्न-संस्कारविरोधि अस्य चाबादि-परमाणुरूपादिवन्नित्यानित्यत्वनिष्पत्तयः।
>
> *gurutvaṁ jala-bhūmyoḥ patana-karma-kāraṇam । apratyakṣaṁ patanakarmānumeyaṁ saṁyoga-prayatna-saṁskāravirodhi asya cābādi-paramāṇurūpādivannityānityatvaniṣpattayaḥ ।*

It is invisible, but can be inferred by the falling motion which is counteractive to material conjunction, effort and action of any other force. Like the other properties of the matter the force of gravity also depends upon the finer constituent parts of the falling entity. The same argument has also been effectively substantiated in the famous commentary on the *Vaiśeṣikasūtra*, the *Nyāyakandalī*.

> अतः व्यधिकरणेभ्यः स्वावयवगुरुत्वेभ्योऽवयवानां पतनासम्भवात् तेषु गुरुत्वं कल्प्यते तदा अवयविन्यपि कल्पनीयं न्यायस्य समानत्वात्।
>
> *ataḥ vyadhikaraṇebhyaḥ svāvayavagurutvebhyo 'vayavānāṁ patanāsambhavāt teṣu gurutvaṁ kalpyate tadā avayavinyapi kalpanīyaṁ nyāyasya samānatvāt ।*

When we assume that a body is falling due to gravity, it is very logical to assume that the constituents or the elemental parts of the body are also falling under gravity. Then only we can justify the logical harmony between the body and its elemental parts. In the light of above statement, one can easily arrive at a conclusion that gravity is the property of the elemental parts and, hence, of the body — a bigger body will also behave in the same way as a small

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body as far as the falling of the body under gravity is concerned.

The gravitational property was known to the Indian scientists at least 2,600 years back. In contrast, the Western scientific world was ignorant of this fact till the late sixteenth century CE. Aristotle had professed that bodies fall at rates that were dependent on their weight. This doctrine remained undisputed till the time of Galileo (1590 CE), who asserted that all bodies fall at the same rate, unless they are so light as to be impeded by the air resistance. It is very significant here for us to know the rationale behind the idea of vector-based motion (upward and downward motion) was known to ancient Indians.

सर्वत्रैव महीगोले स्वस्थानम् उपरि स्थितम्।
मन्यन्ते खे यतो गोलस्तस्य क्वोर्ध्वं क्व वाप्यधः॥

sarvatraiva mahīgole svasthānam uparisthitam ।
manyante khe yato golastasya kvordhvaṁ kva ca vāpyadhaḥ ॥

It means that in the description of the shape of earth *Sūrya Siddhānta* states that everyone considers oneself at the top of the earth in the space around the earth. So for everybody, downward direction is towards the centre of earth. Thus, for every place on earth, the falling of the body is always taking place towards the centre of earth. This way, nobody is above (*ūrdhvam*) anybody and nobody is below (*adhaḥ*) anybody.

From the above *śloka* it is very clear that everybody lying on the top or outer round surface of the earth considers oneself to be higher than the other person on the earth or in the space around the earth. So for every "body", downward direction is towards the centre of the earth. Thus, for every place on earth, the falling of the body is always taking place towards the centre of earth.

It means that it is not only the earth which attracts a body situated in the space towards it, the different heavy bodies of universe situated in space also attract each other due to *saṁhati* of each other or due to their property of attraction. They are constantly pulling each other in their own direction (*svābhimukham ākarṣyate*). All these ideas are exactly similar to the Newton's law of universal

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gravitation which states: "Every particle in the universe attracts every other particle with a force directly proportional to the product of their masses and inversely proportional to the square of the distance between them". The subject has been dealt with in greater details in the Indian works on Astronomy and Astrology.

Newton's Equations of Motion

It is quite astonishing to see that the equations appearing in a book *Līlāvatī* by Bhāskarācārya (twelfth century CE) are exactly similar to the equations given by Newton for his well-known laws of motion.

FIRST EQUATION OF MOTION

If a physical body is moving with a constant increase in velocity a and its initial velocity in the time 0 given by u, then its velocity after every one second interval will be: $u, u + a, u + 2a, u + 3a. \ldots$ If the final velocity is given by v and the time interval is given by t, then according to Bhāskarācārya v will be given as follows: व्यैकपदघनचयोमुखयुक् स्यात् अन्त्यधनम् (*vyaikapadaghanacayomukhayuk syāt antyadhanam*)

Start (*mukha*)	=	*prathama pada* (the first term)	=	u
Pada (term)	=	the number of terms	=	$t+1$
Caya	=	common difference	=	a
Antya	=	the final or last term	=	v

So, the last term = (total number or terms –1) × common difference + first term, Therefore,

$$v = txa + u.$$

or,

$$v = at + u.$$

This is what Newton's first equation is.

SECOND EQUATION OF MOTION

This equation has been given in a lucid manner by the following *sūtra* in the *Līlāvatī*:

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मुखयुक्दलितं तत् (अन्त्यधनं) मध्यधनम्

mukhayukdalitaṁ tat (antyadhanaṁ) madhyadhanam

This equation is to determine the distance described by the body in given time t, if the body is under uniform acceleration, the distance described by the body will be equal to that described by the average velocity in time t. The average velocity is given by formula as

The average velocity (*madhya*)
= {The first term (*mukha*) + last term (*antya*)}/2
$= u + (u + at)/2t.$

Therefore, the distance s described in time t = (average velocity) × (time).

$$s = (u + ½\, at)xt$$

or

$$s = ut + ½\, at^2$$

THIRD EQUATION OF MOTION

The third equation is obtained by the elimination of t from the first two equations. Let's see how!

We can do that easily by substituting the value of t from the first equation, i.e. $t = (v - u)/a$ into the second equation.

Now we have.

$$s = u\,(v - u/a) + ½\, a\,(v - u/a)^2$$

or

$$v^2 = u^2 + 2\, as.$$

The same equation has been given by Newton as the third law of motion.

Force (Saṁskāra)

The *Praśastapādabhāṣya* enumerates the three forms of force (*saṁskāra*), viz. mechanical, emotional (*bhāvanātmaka*) and elastic (*sthitisthāpakatā* or *pratyāsthatā*).

In the background of Newton's laws of motion, it is quite

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contextual here to discuss something about mechanical force or the *vega*.

In the *Praśastapādabhāṣya*, definition of force has been given through the following *sūtra*s:

1. वेग निमित्तविशेषात् कर्मणो जायते।
2. वेग अपेक्षात् कर्मणो जायते नियत-दिक्-क्रिया-प्रबन्ध-हेतुः।
3. वेग संयोगविशेषविरोधि, क्वचित् कारणगुणपूर्वक्रमेणोत्पद्यते।

1. *vega nimittaviśeṣāt karmaṇo jāyate* ।
2. *vega apekṣāt karmaṇo jāyate niyata-dik-kriyā-prabandha-hetuḥ*।
3. *vega saṁyogaviśeṣavirodhi, kvacit kāraṇaguṇapūrvakrameṇo-tpadyate* ।

In the five fundamental physical quantities of Vaiśeṣika (i.e. solid, liquid, gas, energy and mind), the mechanical force is a very important factor for causing the motion. The force is directly proportional to motion (*karma*), caused bsy it in a given direction. Like temperature, force also counteracts material conjunction, and sometimes one type of force (*vega*) produces many other forces (*vega*s) in tandem.

To conclude the above discussion we can say that:

(i) Force is the specific cause for motion.

(ii) Force is proportional to the motion produced and acts in the same direction.

(iii) Force counteracts material conjunction and sometimes one *vega* produces the other in tandem.

From the discussion given by Praśastapāda, it has become very clear that the principles given by Sage Kaṇāda are exactly similar to the well-known Newton's laws of motion.

Following three constituents discussed above, all the three laws of Newton could be derived as given under the chapter "Vega or Saṁskāra" by Praśastapāda. However, it is not possible to give the whole discussion here.

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We had talked about the three types of *saṁskāras*. Now we will be talking about the force of elasticity, which has been called as *sthitisthāpakatā* by the proponents of Vaiśeṣikas.

The Elastic Force (Sthitisthāpakatā Saṁskāra)

In the *Praśastapādabhāṣya* elasticity has been defined as follows:

> ये घना निविडा अवयवसन्निवेशाः तैर्विशिष्टेषु स्पर्शवत्सु द्रव्येषु वर्तमानः, स्थितिस्थापकः स्वाश्रयमन्यथाकृतमवनामितं यथावत्स्थापयति पूर्ववदृजुकरोति।
>
> *ye ghanā niviḍā avayavasanniveśāḥ tairviśiṣṭeṣu sparśavatsu dravyeṣu vartamānaḥ,*
>
> *sthitisthāpakaḥ svāśrayamanyathākṛtamavanāmitaṁ yathāvatsthāpayati pūrvavadṛjukaroti।*
>
> The physical bodies are constituted by densely populated elemental parts. Elasticity is the property by virtue of which, the bodies deformed (displaced or sheared) due to external deforming force (or twist) regain their original shape and form after the deforming force is removed.

In physics, such a property of physical bodies is known as the elasticity. When a pressure is applied on a body, a resisting pressure known as stress is developed by the material constituents of the body. When the external deforming force ceases, this stress brings the body to its original position or shape. The stress is due to cohesive action between the molecules.

In physics the property by virtue of which the body gets back its normal shape after removal of external force is known as elasticity.

Physics describes two types of elasticity: linear tension and shear elasticity. Vaiśeṣika also provides a detailed explanation on these two types of elasticity.

According to physics, it is the elasticity which produces vibrations in the body which travel through the body in the form of waves. The same phenomenon has been mentioned by Vaiśeṣika through the following *śloka*:

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स्थिति स्थापक संस्कारः क्षितः केचिच्चतुर्ष्वपि।
अतीन्द्रियो स विज्ञेयः क्वचित् स्पन्देऽपि कारणम्।।५९।।
sthiti sthāpaka saṁskāraḥ kṣitaḥ keciccaturṣvapi ।
atīndriyo sa vijñeyaḥ kvacit spande 'pi kāraṇam ॥

Elasticity is not seen in solids (*kṣitaḥ* = solid) or the other four physical quantities, because they are invisible (*atīndriya*). The elasticity causes vibrations in the body. So, the definition given by the *ācārya*s of Vaiśeṣikaśāstra does not seem to be different from the conventional definition of elasticity offered by physics. Scientist C.J.L. Wagstaff, in his book *Properties of Matter* (1934) defines elasticity in the following words:

> Elasticity is a general name given to that property of a body in virtue of which it resists, and recovers from change of shape or volume. All substances resist changes in volume, and so have what is termed bulk elasticity, but it is only solids that have elasticity of shape; no fluid, liquid or gas can offer a permanent resistance to change of shape.

More research is needed for the definition given by the Vaiśeṣikaśāstra, there is also a need to do some experiments as well.

Set (Sāmānya)

The English word for the word *sāmānya* of Vaiśeṣika is 'set'. Vaiśeṣika has defined the property of *sāmānya* in the following *sūtra*:

अनुवृत्तिप्रत्ययकारणत्वं सामान्यत्वम्
anuvṛttipratyayakāraṇatvaṁ sāmānyatvam

It means that the cause of assimilative cognition is called *sāmānya* (set). According to Vaiśeṣikaśāstra one set comprises the physical entities which are similar or homogeneous in shape or kind.

आकारप्रकारैक्यसाधर्म्यादिबोधकारणीभूता या जातिः सा सामान्यपदेन व्यपदिश्यते। व्याप्यत्वव्यापकत्वादिना सामान्यस्य वैशेषिकदर्शने त्रयो भेदाः समाम्नाताः सन्तिः 1. परम् 2. अपरम्, 3. परमपरम् चेति।
ākāraprakāraikyasādharmyādibodhakāraṇībhūtā yā jātiḥ sā

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sāmānyapadena vyapadiśyate । vyāpyatvavyāpakatvādinā sāmānyasya vaiśeṣikadarśane trayo bhedāḥ samāmnātāḥ santiḥ 1. *param*, 2. *aparam*, 3. *paramaparam ceti* ।

This aphorism is very useful for elaborating and discussing the concept of the set. In mathematics, numbers may be considered to form a set. The sets can be then used for developing subsets and classes (elements) by making use of simple arithmetical operations like addition and subtraction.

By the use of Algebraic quantities, sets of different kinds may be formed. By assigning physical meaning to these algebraic quantities and correlating them with numbers, one can develop algebra.

We know that the addition or subtraction of quantities of same species or physical quantities is logically possible. Let's for example assume that at one place there are 4 human beings, 15 cows and 6 buffaloes, i.e. there are in all 25 living beings, and 21 of them are animals. In this example, we may classify this set into a universal set (*para sāmānya*) comprising all 25 living beings, one subset (*parāpara sāmānya*) comprising 21 animals: cows and buffaloes, and another subset comprising 4 human beings. The human beings, cows and buffaloes are known as the elements (*apara sāmānya*) of the set.

Similarly, if at another place, there are 2 human beings, 3 cows and 5 buffaloes, by applying the addition operator on these two sets, the numbers of living beings, human beings and animals can be obtained by adding the qualifying numbers of universal set, elements and subset. If an element is not there in a set, or the elements are removed from the first set, the difference needs to be considered.

This can be algebraically put as follows:

If we have L for living being, H for human being, C for cow, B for buffalo and A for animal, then

The first set $= 4H + 15C + 6B$

The second set $= 2H + 3C + 5B$

Their sum $= 6H + 18C + 11B$

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The difference $= 2H + 12C + B$.

If the count of living beings is required, L being the universal set, algebraically we have

$H = L$, $C = L$ and $B = L$.

Therefore on substitution we can get the total count of living beings

$= 6L + 18L + 11L = 35L = 35$ living beings.

Similarly, the total number of animals (animal forming a subset) can be obtained if we substitute

$C = A$ and $B = A$; then the total number of animals
$= 18A + 11A = 29$ animals and so on.

Viśeṣa

Ācārya Kaṇāda and subsequent commentators have called the physical quantity as *viśeṣa* in अत्यन्तव्यावृत्तिबुद्धिहेतुर्विशेष इति (*atyantavyāvṛttibuddhiheturviśeṣa iti*). The cause of cognition of ultimate difference is called *viśeṣa* (specific). The physical entity bearing no parts, which is of eternal character and is present for ever *vibhu*, is termed as *viśeṣa dravya*. It is important here to note that such partless entities are central to the concept of Vaiśeṣika philosophy, as it is clear from the name Vaiśeṣika.

The physical quantity bearing ultimate and partless character is termed as *viśeṣa dravya* (*viśeṣa* physical quantities or the fundamental physical quantities). According to Vaiśeṣika, such partless quantities are *ākāśa* (plasma), *dik* (length vector or space), *kāla* (time), *ātmā* (soul or self) and atoms of *pṛthvī* (solid), *āpaḥ* (liquid), *teja* (radiant energy), *vāyu* (gas) and *manas* (mind).

According to physics, solid, liquid, gas and plasma are mere different states of matter and energy, which may mutually transform into each other. Therefore, they represent a single measurable fundamental physical quantity, mass (*padārtha*). The above-mentioned states are only the representations of this fundamental quantity (*padārtha*). Mass is the physical quantity which can dwell in space–time continuum (*vibhu*) and therefore the measurement of

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length vector and time become the second and third fundamental physical quantities, respectively. In physics, mass, length vector and time are the three fundamental physical quantities. For detailed account one may refer to Dongre and Nene (1917).

Concomitance (Samavāya)

There is a comment given about concomitance in the *Nyāyakandalī* by Śrīdhara as follows:

> अयुतसिद्धयोगाश्रयिभावः समवाय इति। एषस्समवायः तन्निष्ठगुणकर्मणां चाधाराधेयभावमूलकं सम्बन्धं स्फुटीकरोति। वैशेषिकमतानुसारेण सामान्यतया द्वौ सम्बन्धौ परिज्ञायेते, तौ च संयोगः समवायश्चेति।
>
> *ayutasiddhayogāśrayibhāvaḥ samavāya iti । eṣassamavāyaḥ tanniṣṭhaguṇakarmaṇāṁ cādhārādheyabhāvamūlakaṁ sambandhaṁ sphuṭīkaroti । vaiśeṣikamatānusāreṇa sāmānyatayā dvau sambandhau parijñāyete, tau ca saṁyogaḥ samavāyaśceti ।*

Samavāya is a physical quality (*guṇa*) which exists non-conjunctively between the inheritor and the inherited. This concomitance explains a relation between the fundamental physical quantities and their properties, as well as the motion pertaining to them. According to Vaiśeṣika in general, there are two relations: one is conjunctive (*saṁyoga*) and the other is concomitance (*samavāya*). Temporary and momentary relation between any two substances is known as conjunctive relation. Boat and river relation is an example of conjunctive relation. Similarly, the relative relation between the fundamental physical quantity and its corresponding property is an example of concomitance. The physical quantity and its property, — for example, the relation between sugar and sweetness — can be termed as concomitance, this relation is non-conjunctive and eternal which can never be separated. Like the sweetness cannot be ever separated from the sugar.

Sparśa

While discussing the properties of physical quantities, Vaiśeṣika has given a very lucid description of property *sparśa*. Generally *sparśa* is translated as "touch". But in Vaiśeṣika it has been said that

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hardness and softness are the other types of *sparśa*. Here *sparśa* has been considered as the measure of hotness.

शीतोष्णानुष्णाशीतभेदेन स्पर्शस्त्रिविधः

śītoṣṇānuṣṇāśītabhedena sparśastrividhaḥ

Sparśa is of three types: cold (*śīta*), hot (*uṣṇa*) and medium (*aṇuṣṇāśīta*). Conjunction of heat energy (*tejas*) with a substance (matter) gives an experience of hotness in the body. The pair — energy and hotness, being a fundamental physical quantity (*dravya*) and its property respectively — has a concomitant relation between them.

If water is taken in a container and heated gradually, a consequent gradual rise in volume of water is observed. In the same fashion, mercury (Hg) is also seen to expand on heating and contract on cooling. The hotness or coldness of mercury is there due to the property of concomitance of the heat and the energy. Physics has utilized the property of expansion and contraction of mercury to device a simple thermometer. The topic has been discussed in great detail in Dongre and Nene (2009a).

Abhāva

Though the property of *abhāva* has not been clearly discussed by the *Vaiśeṣikasūtra;* considering the very nature and the perspective of thinking of the *sūtras*, we cannot say that this property was not acceptable to Sage Kaṇāda. Besides, the commentator Praśastapāda has given important description of *abhāva*. The reason behind considering *abhāva* as one of the properties is that only the mathematical derivation is not enough to show the relation between two physical quantities, be it of conjunction or concomitance. Many different types of *abhāva* have been discussed but it is not necessary to discuss them here.

We can see now that in Kaṇāda's *Vaiśeṣikasūtra* all the fundamental elements of physics have been dealt with — these general elements being, the length, mass, time and their units (units of length, mass and time); hypothesis of an atom (theory of chemical

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reaction), laws and equations of motion, *vega* (mechanical force), elasticity, gravity and gravitation.

Vaiśeṣika vis-à-vis Physics

The subject matter of Vaiśeṣika and physics is more or less similar. Both of these try to give answers to the questions similar to "what is this?", "how is this?", "why is it so?", etc. However, the Vaiśeṣika also tries to answer questions like "who am I?", "who is he?", besides the questions listed earlier. Physics does not answer such questions, because the answers are beyond the scope of physics. The answers fall in the realm of spirituality, as is generally said. Similarly, one can never find answers to such questions like "how much is this", "how far is it" in Indian books on philosophy or traditional Indian thinking, as these can be answered only through physics mathematically. However, Vaiśeṣika can answer both, if put in mathematical language.

If one takes up the views of ancient Indian thinkers on science and analyses them on the basis of mathematical equations, it will be completely acceptable to science. This is in fact the need of the hour that the thoughts and principles from both the streams — modern science and ancient Indian science — are combined together so that a holistic and complete material science can emerge.

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3

Critical and Comparative Review of the Principal Upaniṣads

Dhirendranath Banerjee

UPANIṢADS,[1] the concluding part of the Vedic Saṁhitā texts, simply called Vedānta, preserve the important concepts of the Vedic religion and philosophy based on monotheism, polytheism, deism, monism, agnosticism, uromonotheism, pantheism, panentheism, monolatry, henotheism, kathenotheism as well as materialism. Yāska, in his *Nirukta*, refers to different methods of interpretation of the Vedic hymns and one of such views is *ādhyātmika* (philosophical) interpretation. In Greek and Latin the most important method of interpreting religious and philosophical texts is known as hermeneutics. Here in this article the author takes into consideration different methods of interpretation of the ancient Upnaiṣads (12-14 in total) which have been so far interpreted by ancient as well as modern Indian and Western scholars.

The period of Upaniṣads is assumed between 800–300 BCE. But during the time of Purāṇic Hinduism (i.e. 700–1400 CE) more than

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1 Upaniṣad: *upa-ni-ṣad-kvip* means "to sit down at the feet of the preceptor and listen his teachings", secret knowledge about *Brahman* or *ātman* (according to Śaṅkara and other commentators); "setting at rest ignorance by revealing the knowledge of the supreme spirit, esoteric doctrine, mysterious or mystics meaning, words of mystery, or mystical meaning, a class of philosophical writing" (M. Monnier Williams' *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*); *paramaṁ gūhyam* (*Kaṭha* 1.3.17); *vedānte paramaṁ gūhyam* (*Śveta*. 6.22); *dharme rahasi upaniṣat syāt* (*Amarakośa*); *upaniṣad idaṁ rahasyaṁ yat cintyam* (*Kena*, *Śāṅkarabhāṣya*); "spiritual vision and philosophical argument" (Radhakrishnan); "oneness with the object worshiped" (A.B. Keith).

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150 Upaniṣads were written by the followers of different sects of Purāṇic religion. The older Upaniṣads may be roughly classified under the following heads according to their time of composition:

1. *Bṛhadāraṇyaka, Chāndogya, Taittirīya, Kauṣītaki* and *Kena Upaniṣads;*

2. *Kaṭha, Īśāvāsya, Śvetāśvatara, Muṇḍaka* and *māṇḍūkya Upaniṣads.*

Later Upaniṣads belong to different schools like Vedānta, Yoga, Mantra, Saṁnyāsa and Vaiṣṇava.[2]

Like the Vedic hymns the Upaniṣads, both in poetry and prose, have been given the status of divine revelation through the wise seers. Practically it is a kind of religious faith which is to be found in some form or other in all other scriptures such as those of Abrahamic monotheistic religions. Six schools of ancient Indian philosophy admit the authority of the Vedas as revelation. The Mīmāṁsakas go a step further and claim that Vedas as knowledge par excellence are eternal like God, while Hebrews, Christians and Muslims claim that teachings of their scriptures are directly delivered by God himself or through his messengers. The Vedānta and Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika argue for the Vedic *mantras* as *apauruṣeya* (not composed by human being) but revelation of divine knowledge through the intuitive faculty of the most wise seers. But contrarily the Buddhist and the Lokāyatas vehemently oppose it. They blame them as written by the scoundrels just for the sake of cheating the ordinary people on the pretext of religious duties and responsibilities.

The Vedānta school of philosophy is fundamentally based

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2 Principal Upaniṣads: *Bṛhadāraṇyaka, Chāndogya, Taittirīya, Aitareya, Kauṣītaki, Kena, Kaṭha, Īśāvāsya, Śvetāśvatara, Muṇḍaka, Māṇḍūkya and Praśna.* The following texts may be consulted: F. Max Müller, 1879, *The Upaniṣads*, 2 vols, Oxford (The Sacred Books of the East Series, vol. I & XV), English translation; Subrahmanya Sastri, 1883, *Hundred and Eight Upanisads*, Madras; S. Radhakrishnan, 1953, *The Principal Upanishads*, London, New York; Sivananda Swami, 1948, *One Hundred and Twenty Upanishads*, Calcutta.

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on the principal Upaniṣads.The Upaniṣads, *Bhagavadgītā* and the *Brahmasūtra* of Bādarāyaṇa are the three pillars of Vedānta which are traditionally known as *śrutiprasthāna, smṛtiprasthāna* and *nyāyaprasthāna*. Principal teachings of the Upaniṣads may be summed up as follows.

Concept of *Brahman*[3] (*Paramātman*), individual soul (*jīvātman*),[4] inner self and outer existence, gods and other semi-divine beings, Sāṁkhya-Yoga philosophy, supreme Brahmanhood, aspirations for worldly pleasure and wish fulfilment, pains and sufferings of human life, rebirth and suffering until emancipation is attained through unity with God. Mystic symbolism of some words or

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3 *Brahman* is great, absolute, supreme reality, immanent and transcendent. *satyaṁ jñānam anantaṁ brahma* — *Tai.* 2.1.1

ānando brahmeti vyajānāt — *Tai.* 3.6.1

prajñānaṁ brahma — *Aita.* 3.3

vijñānaṁ brahma — *Tai.* 2.5.1

ahaṁ brahma asmi — *Bṛ.* 1.4.10

gūhyaṁ brahma sanātanam — *Kaṭha* 2.2.6

ayam ātmā brahma — *Bṛh.* 4.4.5

Brahman/Paramātman/ātman: All these terms signify the Absolute God. *aṇ* > *aṇiti* = to breath, to live, to sustain life, i.e. life force, self. Śaṅkara explains thus: "that which obtains all aspects",

yan manasā na manute — *Kena* 1.5

nāyamātmā pravacanena labhyaḥ — *Kaṭha* 1.2.3

manasā-eva-idam-āptavyaṁ na iha nānā asti kiñcana — *Kaṭha* 2.1.11

hṛdā manīṣī manasā abhikeḷptaḥ Kaṭha — 2.3.9

dṛśyate tvagrayā buddhyā sūkṣmayā sukṣmadarśibhiḥ — *Kaṭha* 1.3.12

4 *Ātman*: essence, breath, soul, spirit, individual soul or supreme soul; *etmen*, vapour, Eng. Atmosphere, Ger. *ātem* (respiration). In the Vedas and Upaniṣads the word *ātman* has been used hundred times meaning soul, self, wish, life, supreme principal, Iness, meness. *Ātman* in the wider sense is *Brahman* or *Paramātman* (*āpnoteḥ/ātater vā/yaccha āpnoti/yat ādatte/yaccha eti viṣayān*).

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sounds like *oṁkāra, praṇava, sāmagāna*[5], importance of Vedic rituals, cosmology or theories about the creation of the universe, origin of life-force, approach to the true nature of godhead through myths and stories, *parā* and *aparā vidyā, vidyā* and *avidyā*, infinite *ātman* and the finite conscious entity, moral and ethical values — principal support for the journey towards eternity.

Like the Vedic hymns the Upaniṣads both in poetry and prose have been given the status of divine revelation through the wise seers. Practically it is a kind of religious faith which is to be found in some form or other in all other scriptures such as those of Mosaic monotheistic religions. Six schools of ancient Indian philosophy admit the authority of the Vedas as revelation though there is wide

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5 The term mysticism has very wide connotation having synonyms like transcendentalism, universalism, divine holiness, etc. It is explained thus: "the belief, ideas or mode of thought of mystics; the doctrine of an immediate spiritual intuition of truths believed to transcend ordinary understanding or of a direct intimate union of the soul with God through contemplation and love" — *Webster's English Unabridged Dictionary*

brahma = satya (*sa-ti-ya, sa = amṛta* or divine bliss, *ti/tī* = ephemeral, *ya* = eternal.

yajña = yaḥ jñaḥ, i.e. he who knows.

vidyut = vidānāt, i.e. that cuts into pieces or destroys all sins; therefore *vidyut = Brahman.*

udgītha > ut-gī-tha. ut = prāṇa (life), *gī* = word or logos, *tha = anna* (food), *tha = sthita* (established), *ut = sāmaveda, gī = yajurveda, tham = ṛgveda; udgītha = oṁ*/nectar/fearlessness

ut = dyau (heaven), *gī = antarikṣa* (space), *tham* = agni (fire/heat)

Maitreya, an expert in Vedic sacrifice, organized a special sacrifice. A pack of hungry hounds assembled there and prayed for food. One of the dogs requested them to attend the sacrifice next day. According to his suggestion they came there next day and began to sing *udgītha* (*sāmagāna*) thus: *o-o-o-m adāma. o-o-o-om - pivāma. - - - annam iha a - a - ahara*

annam iha - a - a - ahara - a - a . ahara - a - a - a - om — *Chā.* 1.12.5

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difference among their theories and outlook. The Mīmāṁsakas (though called *nirdaiva* and *nirīśvara*) claim that the Vedas are eternal like *Īśvara* (Supreme Reality). In the same way the Vedānta and Nyāya justify the Vedas as divine revelation and not written or composed by human hand. While the Hebrews, Christians and Muslims claim that the teachings of their scriptures are directly delivered by God himself or through his messenger. But contrarily the Buddhist as atheists blame the Vedas as the writings of scoundrels (*trayo vedasya kartāro/bhaṇḍa-dhūrta-niśācarāḥ*). Chanting of Veda *mantras*, meditation, enlightenment, emotions with detachment, pantheism, worldly life with social attachment towards progeny, livestock, wealth and happiness, cosmology, worldly life and duties, fire worship, pomp and grandeur of Rājasūya and Aśvamedha sacrifice, and ultimately emancipation (*mokṣa*), i.e. release from clutches of disease, sufferings of old age and to avoid rebirth through *brahma-jñāna* (true knowledge) of Supreme Soul and ultimate unity between God and individual soul, etc.

Some Upaniṣads glorify the ancient Vedic rituals of fire cult as well as many other rituals which were introduced in later period such as Rājasūya and Aśvamedha. During such ritual performance academic discussions like present-day seminars were organized. Sometimes the popular Brāhmanic religious practices have been praised, otherwise discarded. But ultimately *brahmavidyā* or *tattvajñāna* authentic knowledge of *Brahman*[6] (Supreme Reality) has been declared as the *summum bonum* of our life. In Upaniṣadic

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[6] *ekaṁ sati* | *sarvaṁ khalu idaṁ brahma eko vaśī sarvabhūtāntarātmā* | — *ṚV* I.164.46; *Chā*. 3.14.1; *Kaṭha* 2.2; *Bṛh*. 1.4.1

The Omnipotent, Omnipresent, Omnibenevolent, the Holy Grace. — Old Testament

There is no God, but Thee, the Almighty, the All-bountiful. — Bahaism

sarvago hyeṣa īśvaraḥ — Nr. 9

īśvaraḥ sarvabhūtānāṃ hṛddese — *Gītā*. 18.61

īśvaraḥ meaning respectable man, the Infinite, the Eternal, Virāṭ, Hiraṇyagarbha, etc.

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pantheism we come across mystic interpretation of *brahma* or *yāga*. During post-Vedic period symbolic interpretation of such technical terms leaving behind the spiritual legacy of the Upaniṣads are given by scholars (e.g. *brhamayajña* = to study the scriptures, *pitṛyajña* = to perform rituals for departed forefathers, *devayajña* = to worship gods, *nṛyajña* = to offer food and drink to the needy people and other beings.

tapasā brahma vijijñāsāsva tapo braham iti — *Tai.* 9.91

tapsyā > *brahma* > *anna* > *prāṇa* (*hiraṇyagarbha*) > *mana* > *pañcabhūta*

Highest spiritual wisdom (*brahmajñāna*) is otherwise called *vijñāna, medhā, manīṣa, kratu, asu.*

The Upaniṣadic concept of *Brahman* is really spiritual-mystic and the theories and explanations given by scholars are beyond our understanding. The Supreme eternal Reality is expressed in so many terms through poetical language — *īśa, ātman, kavi, deva, gūḍha, vajra, divya, haṁsa, akṣara, sad-asat, jyotir, vyakta-avyaya, śukra, anīśa, pumān-strī, aṇutama-mahattama, īśāna, viśvarūpa, manomaya, vyakta-avyakta, jyeṣṭha, vijñāna, prāṇa, rājā, purāṇa, acintya, āvi, variṣṭha, sarvajña, parameśvara, kṣara-akṣara, aja, śreṣṭha, prabhu, ajara, mantā* (i.e. the Lord, the Supreme Soul, the Wise One, the Brightest One, the most Secret One, the Lightning Force, the Divine, the Omnipotent, both Naught and Aught, the Lustre, the Manifest and the Non-manifest, the Sparkling One, the Self Lord, male-and-female, the Smallest and the Biggest One, the Lord of the Universe, the Universe in Himself, Supreme Wisdom, the Life-force, the Lord, the Perfect Master). In the Upaniṣads *Brahman* is the Infinite Supreme Reality, all other objects are either unreal or part of the Supreme Being. But in the *Ṛgveda* scepticism may be found.

Before the creation there was neither sat *nor* asat *(naught nor aught).*
Neither the dusty region nor the endless sky.
Neither death nor non-death, neither night nor day divided.
It was darkness enveloped in deep darkness.
All was submerged in boundless water. — *ṚV* X.11.129

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The same seer asks:

Who knows this world truly?
Who can explain this universe exactly?
From whence does this creation come into existence?
He who is the Supreme Master in endless heavens may know this or may not.

Ancient Indian cosmological theories may be classified thus into: (1) Divine cosmology; (2) Semi-divine cosmology; and (3) Material cosmology.

The fundamental concept of Upaniṣadic cosmology is divine creationism though there is a passing reference to the theories of material creationism prevalent among other philosophical schools of that period. The basic theories given by the Upaniṣads are mainly based on theocentric belief, still there is agnostic, sceptic and atheistic concepts. Thus it is said:

It was either sat *or* sat,
From asat sat *came into existence,*
Some say it was originally sat, *while others call it* asat,
How does asat *come from* sat?
Therefore it was originally sat *whence creation started.*
The Creator God (Prajāpati) desired creating something new.
He thus created male-and-female by tapas *(energy/heat).*
— *Praśna* 1.4; *Tait.* 7.1; *Aita.* 1.1.1; *Chā.* 6.2.1-3; *ṚV* X.9.13

In Veda and Upaniṣads sceptic, agnostic, divine and semi-divine concepts and theories have been expressed. Sometimes these opinions are contradictory and we cannot come to any definite conclusion from such expressions haphazardly laid down. It is rather a kind of contradiction or difference between two groups regarding cosmology. From the Vedas to the Upaniṣads the theory of divine cosmoslogy has been unanimously accepted. Another popular theory is Hiraṇyagarbha (golden-egg theory) (*brahmāṇḍa* or *hiraṇyāṇḍa*). The Upaniṣadic seers have set the gradual process of creation thus: *ātman* > sky > wind > heat > water > earth. The *Atharvaveda* says that "at the beginning it was *kāma* (Gk eros) who accepted *sat* and discarded *asat*".

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Some Upaniṣads (*Tait.* 1.1.1; 2.7'1) also claim that God Brahmā created everything through his willpower like a magician exhibiting objects by illusion. This creation also ends by his destructive power. the *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad* is the only exception that refers to the materialistic theory twice and discarded them as of doubtful and ignorant men.

Some Upaniṣads begin with the most fundamental questions about the material world as well as inner self. Such serious queries are the starting point of philosophy. For example, the *Praśna Upaniṣad* starts with the following questions:

A. How did life come into existence in the universe?
B. How did the life force start in living organism?
C. Where is the exact location of consciousness in living being?
D. What is the exact process of the origin of life?

Here the first four questions are practically related to modern Life Science or more explicitly to Darwin's (1809-82) thesis "On the Origin of Species" as well as neo-Darwinism and Genetic Science. In such query there may be some scientific outlook, but in comparison to modern scientific theories and discoveries the philosophical–spiritual hypothesis of the Upaniṣadic discourse is totally opposed to scientific approach. It is simply metaphysical in the arena of theocentric universe. So thereafter the seer declares that Prajāpati, the Creator God, created living beings, male and female, food and drink, the sun and the moon and what not?

The *Annapūrṇā Upaniṣad* begins with metaphysical questions of philosophy:

> *ko'ham? kathaṁ idam? kiṁ vā? kathaṁ maraṇa-janmanī? vicāraya antere bā itthamı mahat phalam eṣyasi* ı

> Who am I? How did this universe come into existence? What is the exact nature of the universe — eternal or temporal? Why do we live and die? Know thyself. Ask thy mind. Through such interrogation you will be delighted.

In the ancient traditional context the Upaniṣads have been taught

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and explained by the famous scholars like Śaṅkara, Madhva and others. From eighteenth-nineteenth century some modern scholars of East and West became interested in Indian philosophy, specially the Upaniṣads and explained Indian religion and philosophy in the modern context of philosophical and sociocultural background of both spiritual-mystic and materialistic, as well as humanistic and secular standpoints. Among them the most famous Indian scholars are Rammohun Roy, Debendranath Thakur, Brajendranath Seal, Vivekananda, SriAurobindo, Atmaram Panduranga, R.G. Bhandarkar, Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Rabindranath Tagore, Mahatma Gandhi and S. Radhakrishnan.

Anquetil Duperon, a French scholar, came to India to study Indian religion and philosophy. He collected Persian translation of fifty Upaniṣads made by Dara Shikoh with the assistance of Persian scholars of Delhi and the text was titled *Sirr-i-Akbar*. This text was translated into Latin entitled *Oupnek'hat ou Theologia* (1796). A few Upaniṣads were rendered into German from Latin. Max Müller (1823–1900) translated twelve principal Upaniṣads into English. These were published in the 1st and 15th part of the Sacred Books of the East series (Oxford 1879). Paul Deussen, follower of Max Müller, studied the Latin and French version of the Upaniṣads. Then he learned Sanskrit from Indian scholars and translated sixty Upaniṣads into English (1897). Max Müller, in his various lectures on the Vedas and Upaniṣads bestows highest praise on the Vedānta. We may quote some of his opinions:

> unequalled in any language, unique, strange, basic of ethics and moral law. . . .
>
> Vedānta philosophy unequalled in any language for grandeur, boldness and simplicity. . . .
>
> What distinguished the Vedānta philosophy from all other philosophies is that it is at the same time Religion and Philosophy.
>
> This fearless synthesis – *tat tvam asi* — seems to me the boldest and truest synthesis in the whole history of philosophy.
>
> — See *Origin of the Vedanta, Fundamental Doctrines of the Vedanta, Six Systems of Indian Philosophy, Origin of the Vedanta*

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During the 2nd half of the nineteenth century some renowned scholars of America took interest in Sanskrit language and literature. They studied the books and articles of famous Western Indologists (like William Jones, Max Müller and Colebrooke). They did not know Sanskrit and, therefore, could not go through the original texts, but due to their over-enthusiasm and practically out of curiosity they sometimes passed stray remarks on Indian philosophy, specially Upaniṣadic spiritualism or more particularly pantheism. But unfortunately their remarks are just casual because they had neither very sound knowledge on ancient Indian philosophy which has so many schools of thought as well as their divisions and sub-divisions and so many niceties and subtleties. Gerald Heard while delivering lectures in Oxford and USA writes in his book *Vedanta and Western History*:

Vedānta is the new religion of the world and Upaniṣadic pantheism is more transparent and intelligible than Western transcendentalism.

Even Max Müller himself while editing the publications of the Sacred Books of the East series came to realize that many a scholars of the West made some remarks without knowing Sanskrit language and reading just a few articles and some parts of English translation they expressed their mind simply out of curiosity.

Ultimately he also changed his personal views about the ancient scriptures and philosophical texts of the ancient wise men. This may be proved from his remark:

I do not blame them for this, perhaps I should feel that I was open to the same blame myself for it, but natural that scholars in joy at finding one or two fragrant fruits or flowers, should gladly forget the brambles and the thorns be thrown aside in their search. Readers who have been led to believe that the Vedas of the ancient Brāhmaṇas — are books full of primeval wisdom and religious enthusiasm, or at least of sound and simple moral teaching, will be dissapointed on consulting these volumes. . . . I have long felt that it was high time to dispel such illusions and to

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place the study of the ancient religions of the world on a more real and sound, on a more truly historical basis. — SBE introduction

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4

The Concept of Śiva in the Śiva-rahasya*
An Old Unpublished Manuscript

Satya Deva Misra

THE *Śiva-rahasya* (Secret of Śiva), which begins with invocations to Lord Gaṇeśa, Kāśīviśveśvara and Annapūrṇā, is an encyclopaedic treatise of Śaivism, believed to be one of the most ancient religions of the world. In the words of Sir John Marshall:

> Among the many revelations that Moheṅjo-Daṛo and Haṛappā have had in store for us perhaps more remarkable is the discovery that Śaivism has a history going back to Chalcolithic or perhaps even further still and thus it takes place as the most ancient living faith in the world.[1]

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* The *Śiva-rahasya* is a very important Ms in my ancestral collection of over 200 manuscripts. It is a 300 years old MS written on country paper. Its seventh *aṁśa* (section) contains 14,000 verses distributed in 29 chapters.There are 429 folios in it, each of which is 33 × 13 cm.in size As the last two folios are partly damaged, it is not possible to ascertain the author's date and the scribe's name. All the 29 chapters are in form of the dialogue between Umā and Śiva. Chapter 29, the Vṛddhācalamahimānuvarṇana chosen for the present lecture having 1,015 verses, describes the glory of the mountain Vṛddhācala, situated on the banks of Maṇimuktā River, and discusse in detail the nature of Śiva and glorifies Him as the creator, sustainer and destroyer of all the visible and invisible worlds.

1 Moheṅjo-daṛo, India-I, VII (Quoted by V.A. Devsenapati, *Saiva Siddhanta*, p.1). Cf. for details of John Marshall's observation, see Bridget and Raymond Allchin, 1968, *The Birth of Indian Civilization: India and Pakistan Before 500* BC, Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, pp. 129, 139, 143.

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The paper, which I am presenting hereunder the Tattvabodha Vyakhayanam Scheme of the National Mission for Manuscripts of the Ministry of Culture, Government of India, deals with special reference to the 23rd chapter of the *Śiva-rahasya*, the nature of Śiva and His supremacy.

The *Śiva-rahasya* proclaims that Lord Śiva is the Ultimate Reality. He is the greatest of gods,[2] who is devoid of parts (*niṣkala*) and is beyond qualities and diseases. He is bereft of forms, taints and limitations. He is without effects. He is *śānta* (peace).[3] He is Vedas from all sides (*caturveda*),[4] He has multiple faces and arms. He is indescribable. He is Supreme Reality.[5] He is beyond the reach of words, sense organs and logical deductions.[6] He is knowable only through the Vedānta or the Upaniṣadic texts.[7] Nothing can destroy Him, because He transcends the limitations of space, time and things. He together with His five-lettered (*pañcākṣarī*) *mantra "namaḥ śivāya"* is the *Parama* (Supreme) *Brahman*. It is He who creates the world, sustains it and destroys it. The entire universe, including divine and human beings, has no existence apart from Him. He is

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2 मन्त्रेषु यथा श्रेष्ठो ब्राह्मणो ब्रह्मवित्तमः ।
तथैव श्रीमहादेवो देवेषु श्रेष्ठ उच्यते ॥ — *Śiva-rahasya* 7.20.18

3 निष्कलं निर्गुणं शान्तं निरवद्यमनामयम् ।
निष्प्रपंचं निराकारं निर्मलं निरुपाधिकम् ॥ — Ibid. 7.1.8

4 विश्वतश्चतुर्वेदं विश्वतोमुखमव्ययम् ।
विश्वतो बाहुमाराध्यं विश्वतः पादमीश्वरम् ॥ — Ibid. 7.1.7

5 अद्वैतं परमं ब्रह्म शिव एवेति वादिनः ।
श्रीमद्रुद्रजपासक्ताः पंचाक्षरपरायणाः ॥ — Ibid. 7.1.13

6 यतो वाचो निवर्तन्ते अप्राप्य मनसा सह ।
तस्मादेव वरं याचे शङ्कराल्लोकशङ्करम् ॥ — Ibid. 7.20.396

7 यः सर्ववेदवेदान्तप्रतिपाद्यो महेश्वरः ।
तस्मादेव वरं याचे शङ्कराल्लोकशङ्करम् ॥ — Ibid. 7.20.209
and
सत्यं सत्यं नेह नानास्ति किञ्चिदीशावास्यं ब्रह्म सत्यं जगद्धि ।
ब्रह्मैवेदं ब्रह्म पश्चात्पुरस्तादेको रुद्रो न द्वितीयोऽवतस्थे ॥ — Ibid . 9.16.28

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of the form of earth, water, fire, wind, ether, time and directions.[8]

The two letters *śi* and *va* constituting the name of Śiva connote the non-dual ultimate *Brahman*. The Śrutis (scriptures) declare Him as the only reality.[9] The above '*namaḥ śivāya mantra* according to the *Śiva-rahasya* is the five-lettered (*pañcākṣarī*) knowledge (*vidyā*) which in turn is the *muktividyā* (the knowledge of salvation).[10] The Vedānta is replete with the discussion of this *śivarūpa-vidyā*. This knowledge alone is the knowledge of liberation.[11] It is categorically stated in the *Śiva-rahasya* that at the time of dissolution, all worlds were dissolved in the Vedas, the Vedas in the *Rudrādhyāya* and the *Rudrādhyāya* in the immortal or imperishable *pañcākṣarī* which is beyond destruction.[12]

Lord Śiva is supremely luminous (*parama prakāśa*). He is illuminator of the entire world inclluding Śrī Viṣṇu.[13] Ādi Viṣṇu

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8 नमोनमस्ते पृथिवीस्वरूप नमोनमस्तेऽस्तु जगत्स्वरूप ।
तेजः स्वरूपाय नमोनमस्ते वायुः स्वरूपाय नमोनमस्ते ॥
आकाशरूपाय नमोनमस्ते कालस्वरूपाय नमोनमस्ते ।
नमोनमस्तेऽस्तु दिगात्मने नमः नमोनमस्ते सकलात्ममूर्तये ॥ — Ibid. 7.8.39-40
Cf. also *Abhijñānaśākuntalam* of Kālidāsa, Act 1, verse 1.

9 अद्वयं परमं ब्रह्म शिव इत्यक्षरद्वयम् ।
तदेव सर्ववेदान्तप्रतिपाद्यं न संशयः ॥ — *Śiva-rahasya* 7.23

10 शिवपञ्चक्षरो विद्यामुक्तिविद्येति गीयते ।
साविद्या शिवरूपेव सर्ववेदान्त संश्रुता ॥ — Ibid. 7.23.334

11 शिवपञ्चाक्षरो नाम परं ब्रह्मेति गीयते ।
न परं ब्रह्मणो नाशः कदाचिदपि वस्तुतः ॥ — Ibid. 7.23.239; see also ibid. vv. 7.19.385-87

12 लोकानां प्रलयेप्राप्ते लोका वेदे लयं गताः ।
ततः सर्वेऽपि वेदास्ते रुद्राध्याये लयंगताः ॥
रुद्राध्यायो लयं प्राप्तो शिवपञ्चाक्षरे ततः ।
शिवपञ्चाक्षरो शुद्धो न कुत्रापि तल्लयः ॥ — Ibid. 7.23.337-39

13 यो वै रूद्रः स भगवान् यच्च तेतः प्रकाशकः ।
यस्य मासा मासते यस्तस्मैवेते नमोनमः ॥ — Ibid. 7.23.48
त्वत्त एव समुत्पन्ना विष्णुब्रह्मादयः सुराः ।

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deluded by the *māyā* of Lord Śiva had worshipped the latter facing the five fires (*pañcāgni*) for sixty crore aeons (*ṣaṭkoṭiyuga*). Lord Śiva,pleased with Viṣṇu's devotion, bestowed on him the *viṣṇutva* (Viṣṇuship), and the discus (*sudarśana cakra*). Later on Mahāviṣṇu had worshipped Lord Śiva's lotus feet with His eyes. As a result of this adoration Lord Viṣṇu had His *loka* (world) called Vaikuṇṭha. Śrī Viṣṇu in future too will continue to adore Lord Śiva, because there is no other who is adorable by Viṣṇu.[14] The *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Mahābhārata* and the Purāṇas are full of examples which show that Lord Śiva fulfils the wishes of His devotees including gods, demons and human beings; without any discrimination, He grants them Śivaloka and liberation (*mokṣa*).[15] In the words of *Śiva-rahasya*, he who does not worship Lord Śiva is *antyaja* (untouchable).[16]

Lord Śiva in his ferocious (*raudra*) form is Rudra.[17] He is Mahākāla who is even the killer of Kāla or Yamarāja, the God of Death.[18] His consort Pārvatī, who is inseparable from Him like the moonlight from the moon, is His Śakti.[19] Śiva, associated with His inseparable Śakti, is the creator of the world.[20] Like Śiva, Pārvati is also Rudrā or Rudrāṇī in Her ferocious

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← त्वयैव पालितास्ते तु त्वयैव तु विनाशिताः ॥ — Ibid. 7.23 and 23.20, 262 ff.

14 Ibid. 7.23.735-40.

15 हृदिध्यानं महेशस्य शिवलिङ्गे शिवार्चनम् ।
यः करिष्यति यत्नेन स जीवन्मुक्त उच्यते ॥
स भुक्त्वा सकलान् भोगान् शिवलोकं गमिष्यति ॥ — Ibid. 7.23.218 and 230

16 येऽनन्यशरणा नित्यं न मजन्ति महेश्वरम् ।
ते सर्वेऽन्त्यजा एव सत्यं सत्यं न संशयः ॥ — Ibid. 7.23.279

17 यो वै रुद्रः स भगवान् याचोमा परमेश्वरी ।
उमाकान्तो निर्गुणोऽपि तस्मैवेते नमो नमः ॥ — Ibid. 7.23.32

18 हरामरेश पापारे मधुसूदन सूदन ।
कालकालेति सततं वदन्त्यनुदिनं द्विजाः ॥ — Ibid. 7.23.307

19 न शिवेन विना देवी न देव्या च विना शिवः ।
नानयोरन्तरं किञ्चित् चन्द्रचन्द्रिकयोरिव ॥

20 न शिवः शक्तिरहितो न शक्तिर्यतिरेकिणी ।
शिवः शक्तस्तथाभावान् इच्छया कर्तुमर्हति ॥

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form. Just as Śiva has innumerable names like Īśa, Śambhu, Paśupati, Sadāśiva, and Mahādeva,[21] even Pārvatī has numerous names like Kātyāyanī, Kālī, Durgā,[22] Mahādevī, Caṇḍikā and several others. In fact, both of them have hundreds (*śata*) and thousands (*sahasra*) of names which have been mentioned in various Purāṇas and religious texts.[23] In the *Durgā-Saptaśatī*,[24] which forms *Purāṇa* part of the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, and the *Śiva-rahasya*,[25] we have identical long prayers of Śakti citing almost the same words. In the former, Indra and other gods pray to Durgā before Mahiṣāsura was killed by Her, and in the latter Viṣṇu and other gods invocate Devī Pārvatī at the time of Her departure for participating in Her father's (Dakṣa Prajāpati's) *yajña* (sacrifice). In the *Durgā-Saptaśatī*, Indra and other gods pray to Her as one who resides in all beings as *viṣṇu-māyā*, as consciousness, as intelligence, as sleep, as shadow, as strength, as

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21 *Amarakośa* with Kṛṣṇamitra's commentary in Sanskrit, ed. Satya Deva Misra, Prathama Kāṇḍa, vv. 25-29 (14), Jaipur: Ayurveda Sanskrit Pustak Bhandar, 2005.

22 Ibid. vv. 31-32 (19).

23 Even in the first chapter of the "Saptamāṁśa" of the *Śiva-rahasya*, we have prominent one thousand eight (1008) names of Lord Śiva.

24 *Durgā-Saptaśatī*, chapter 5, vv. 7-80. The first of these hymns, for example, is:
नमो देव्यै महादेव्यै शिवायै सततं नमः ।
नमः प्रकृत्यै भद्रायै नियताः प्रणताः स्म माम् ॥

25 *Śiva-rahasya* 7.14.65-97. Some of the prayers, for example, are:
गतरत्नकिरीटाश्च विष्णुमुख्याः सुरास्तदा ।
प्रहृष्टवदनां देवीं तुष्टुवुर्विविधैः स्तवैः ॥

नमो देव्यै नमो देव्यै नमो देव्यै नमोनमः ।
नमो नमस्ते रुद्रायै शोभनायै नमोनमः ॥

नमो नमो जगद्धा जगद्-धात्र्यै नमोनमः ।
नमो नमस्ते रुद्रायै शोभनायै नमोनमः ॥

या त्वं धर्मरूपेण धर्मवद् हृदये स्थिता ।
तस्यै शिवाङ्गरूपिण्यै नमस्त्वयं ते नमोनमः ॥
या त्वं शान्तिरूपेण शान्तिवद्हृदये स्थिता ।
तस्यै शिवाङ्गरूपिण्यै नमस्तुभ्यं नमोनमः ॥

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attachment, as forbearance, as caste, as shame, as peace, as faith, as splendour, as riches (*lakṣmī*), as godlihood, as memory, as piety, as contentment, as mother, as delusion, as the substratum of sense organs of all living beings and as continuously present goddess in all of them as also in the form which surrounds and pervades the entire visible world. In the *Śiva-rahasya*, Viṣṇu and other gods invocate Devī Pārvatī in alike hymns consisting of several other aspects of Her power. In addition to that contained in the prayer of *Durgā-Saptaśatī*, The hymns of *Śiva-rahasya* depict Pārvatī, as Śarvāṇī, Śāmbhavī, Annapūrṇā, Liṅgadhāriṇī and Śivaṅgarūpiṇī (having exactly the body of Śiva). These also describe Her as the container of worlds, as ferocious (Raudrā) as well as beautiful (Śobhanā): Her lock of hair is adorned with moon like that of Śiva. She lives in Her devotees' heart as *dharma*, as fortune, as fame, as knowledge, as merit, as tranquillity, as auspiciousness, as wealth, as contentment, as prosperity and as protection, and blesses them with glory, luck, peace, *dharma*, knowledge, merit, piety, contentment, prosperity, happiness and other noble virtues, and also protects them from enemies and diseases.

The *Śiva-rahasya* is indeed embedded with the essentials of Śaiva faith both of the theoretical and practical aspects, which in the later period were developed by their followers into different schools.[26] The prominent among them are:[27]

1. *The Pāśupata school of an unknown founder*: Its follower allowed anyone to follow their path which was not caste discriminative. As the popularity of this school shot up, a large number of brāhmaṇas defected to it.

2. *The revised version of Pāśupata school*: It was founded approtimately in 200 CE by its historically known preceptor Lakulīśa of Gujarat. Lakulīśa being a Pāśupata reformist restricted the Pāśupata faith to the three higher castes in

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26 For details, see *Collected Works of Shri R.G. Bhandarkar*, vol. IV, part II, pp. 146-229.

27 "Six Schools of Śaivism", *Kalyan Kalpataru*, Śiva Number, XXXVI(1), October 1990.

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order to link it with Vedic mythology. According to the seventh-century Chinese traveller Hieun Tsang, Varanasi at that time was populated with 10,000 Pāśupatas. Presently, its stronghold is Nepal which with its famous Paśupatinātha Temple has become a prime pilgrimage centre. Recently, late Swami Kripalvanananda of Gujarat adopted the Lakulīśa's lineage, but avoided its theology and *sādhanā*.

3. *Vīraśaivism*: It was founded by Basavanna who lived from 1105 to 1167 CE. It is also known as Liṅgāyata because its followers constantly carry the personal *śivaliṅgam* (genital organ of Śiva). Liṅgāyatas have made the State of Karnataka their home. Approximately, twenty-five per cent of the four million people living there are Vīraśaivaites. There are Vīraśaivaites also in Tamil Nadu, Kerala and Andhra Pradesh. In North America too, there is a small community of 600 Vīraśaivaite families. Vīraśaivaites revolted against caste hierarchy, the system of four *āśramas*, multiplicity of gods, magico-ritualistic priestcraft, temple worship and other Brāhamanical practices. They laid great emphasis on the life here and believed in equality of all members irrespective of caste, education, gender, etc. The *guru*, the *liṅga* and the *jaṅgama* (wandering monk) constitute the pillars of Vīraśaivism. Its spiritual authority has been derived from the *vacanas* (lives and writings) of the *śiva-śaraṇas*. Basavanna and Allamma Prabhu were foremost of them. Basavanna was a defiant brāhmaṇa youth. He rejected much of the Śaivism practised in his days, abandoned his sacred thread at the age of 16 and spent his life in isolation. His Śaivaite brāhmaṇa teacher was Īśanya. At the age of 79 he realized that the brotherhood of man depends on the doctrine of personalized individual godhood in the form of *iṣṭaliṅga*. Prompted by a dream of Śiva, Basavanna moved to the royal court of Bijjala. He rose to become here chief officer of the Royal Treasury as also

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a minister to the king. This position helped him spread his message rapidly. While Basavanna was the faith's intellectual social architect, afore-mentioned Allamma Prabhu was its leading mystical luminary. The doctrines of these two are contained in the *vacanas* (prose lyrics). These *vacanas* scorn the Vedas, reject the legends of gods and goddesses and mock rituals. According to them religion must not be static, but dynamic and spontaneous. They reject the concept of doing good for the purpose of attaining heaven. Allamma says:

> Feed the poor, speak the truth, and build tanks for a town. You may go to heaven after death, but you'll be nowhere near the truth of our lord. And the man who knows God does nothing else.

The *vacanas* are incandescent poetry full of humour, ridicule and the white heart of truth-seeking, bristling with monotheism, and spirituality commanding devotees to enter the awesome realm of personal spirituality.

4. *kashmir Śaivism*: It flourished around 1000 CE in Kashmir. Trika, Spanda and Pratyabhjñā are the other names by which this school is known. The Trika system primarily refers to the three principles with which the school deals, namely, Śiva, Śakti and *aṇu*, or, *pati*, *pāśa* and *paśu*. The *spanda* (vibration) indicates the principle of apparent movement or change from the state of absolute unity to the plurality of the worldly objects, and the expression *pratyabhjñā* (recognition) implies the way of realizing the soul's identity.[28]

The Vedic Rudra, the Vedas and Āgamas are the basic sources of Kashmir Śaivism. The other important texts of this school are the *Śivasūtra*, Bhāskara's *Vārttika*,

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[28] Abhinavagupta, *Paramārthasāra*, vv. 12-13 and निर्मले मुकुरे यद्वद् मान्तिभूमि-जलादयः । अमिभास्तद्वदेकस्मिन् चिन्नाथे विश्ववृत्त्यः । — Abhinavagupta, *Tantrāloka*, 2-IV.

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Kṣemendra's *Pratyabhjñāhṛdaya*, *Śivasūtravimarśinī* and *Spanda-sandoha* with Kallaṭa's *Vṛtti*, Somānanda's *Śivadṛṣṭi*, Utpala's *Pratyabhjñāśāstrasūtra* and Abhinavagupta's *Paramārthasāra Pratyabhjñāsūtravimarśiṇī* and *Tantrāloka*. As in the *Śiva-rahasya*, in this school of Śaivism too, Śambhu or Śiva is the Ultimate Reality or the Supreme God. Śiva is the *ātman*, the self of all beings, immutable or ever perfect. He is Pure Consciousness (*caitanya*), absolute experience (*para saṁvit*) and Supreme Lord (*Parameśvara*). He is the ground of all existence, the substrate of all beings. He is one and beginningless. He resides in all that moves and also in all that moves not. Time and space do not limit Him, for He transcends them, and they are but His apperances. He is both immanent (*viśvamaya*) and transcendent (*viśvottīrṇa*). The world does not exhaust him, for He is infinite. He is called *anuttara*, the reality beyond which there is nothing. This Supreme Reality, referred to as Śiva is the material as well as the efficient cause of the universe. This view is much of the same as one sponsored by Advaita Vedānta as regards *Saguṇa-Brahman* or *Īśvara*. He is the substance of which the world is made as well as the instrument which makes it. Fundamentally, there is no difference between the cause and the effect. But while for the Advaita Vedānta the manifested world is non-real, for Kashmir Śaivism it is real. By means of several illustrations the Pratyabhijñā thinkers explain the creation of the universe from and by Śiva. The world is often compared as the projected city in a mirror. Abhinavagupta says:

> As the orb of a mirror pictures such as those of a town or a village shine which are inseparable from it and yet are distinct from one another and from it, even so from the perfectly pure vision of the supreme Bhairava, this universe though void of distinction appears distinct, part from part, and distinct from that vision. And again, "As syrup, molasses, jaggery, sugar-balls, candy, etc. are alike juice of the sugar cane, even so the diverse conditions

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are all of Śambhu, the Supreme Self". The manifestation of this universe is effected through the power (*śakti*) of Śiva. And the power is not different from the possessor thereof. Śakti is Śiva's creative energy, and is spoken of His feminine aspect.[29]

5. *Śaiva Siddhānta:* It is a well-known Śaivite school prevailing among the Tamils of Sri Lanka and south India. The term *śaiva siddhānta* means "the final or the established conclusions of the Āgamas". As of Kashmir Śaivism the sources of this school are also the Vedic Rudra, the Rudra-Śiva cult of the brāhmaṇas, the *Mahābhārata* and the Śaiva Āgamas. Meyakanda's *Śivajñānabodham*, written in the first half of the thirteenth century CE is the basic text of this school *Śivajñānasiddhiyar* of Aruḷ Nandī the Śivācārya, who was one of the forty-nine disciples of Meyakanda. The *Śivaprakāśa* and the *Tiruaruḷpayan* of Umāpati (fourteenth century CE) are the other important texts of the Śaiva Siddhānta philosophy. The Supreme God in the Śaiva Siddhānta is Śiva with His consort Ambā, the female aspect of power, through which God operates as the instrumental cause. The Supreme Reality Śiva is regarded beginningless, uncaused, free from defects the all-doer and the all-knower who frees the individual souls from the bonds which fetter them. He is immanent in the universe (*viśvamaya*) and transcendent (*viśvādhika*) as well. It is to stress the transcendent nature of God that Śaiva Siddhānta conceives of Śiva as the operative cause too. The analogy of the potter is used to explain God's causality in relation to the world. The clay will not transform itself into a pot but for the operation of an active agent, viz. a potter. *Māyā* is the material cause of the world, as clay is of pot. God is the efficient or operative cause and is analogous to the potter. His *śakti* is the instrumental cause, like the potter's

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29 For details of Kāśmīr Śaivism, see Satya Deva Misra, 1961, *Pratyabhijñā-Vimarśa*, Gorakhpur: Gorakhpur Vishwavidyalaya Patrika, pp. 68-74.

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wheel.[30]

6. *Gorakanātha Śaivsim*: It emerged in the tenth century from the Himalaya. It was the progeny of the Ādinātha lineage, an ancient, monistic order of the Nātha Sampradāya. Their followers were called Śivayogins. Gorakanātha was the pre-eminent teacher of this school of Śaivism. His book the *Siddhasiddhānta-paddhati* is an authentic text of the school. He mastered the Nātha *yoga* sciences after studying for twelve years with his *guru* Matsyendranātha. He roamed north India from Assam to Kashmir, worshipped Śiva in temples, realized, Him through his "*cranium cakra*" and demonstrated the power of a Śaiva adept. He popularized his faith by establishing twelve orders with monasteries and temple complexes. A very famous Gorakhanātha temple is situated in Gorakhpur district of Uttar Pradesh. His Śiva-*yogī*s were mesmerizing memerable men of renunciation, dressed in saffron robes with flowing jet-black hair, foreheads white with holy ash, large circular earrings, *rudrākṣa* beads and their unique insignia of a horn whistle and hair cord worn around the neck signifying the primal vibration of *oṁ*. Today, there are over 75,000 adherents of this school. They are often called Nāthas or Advaita Tāntrikas. In south they range from advanced Śiddha-*yogī*s to weavers and snake charmers. It is popular mostly in north India and Nepal.

The fourth of the above schools, viz. Kashmir Śaivism, is exclusively monistic. Its followers advocate oneness (*abheda*) of Śiva and Śakti without making any difference between these two supreme powers

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30 For details of Śaiva Siddhānta, please see V.A. Devasenapati, 1969, *Śaiva Siddhānta*, University of Madras, and N.M. Mudaliar, "Śaiva Siddhanta" in *Dr. V. Raghavan Śaṣṭyabdipūrti Felicitation Volume*, pp. 170-76. For difference between the fourth and the fifth schools of Śaivism, see Satya Deva Misra (1996). *Śrījñānāmṛtam* (a commemoration volume dedicated to the memory of Sri Niwas Shastri) pp. 276-82., Delhi: Parimal Publications.

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and forward the doctrines of Śivādvayavāda and Śāktādvaitavāda. Even sixty-four Tantras, Āgamas and Nigamas constituting the nucleus of Kashmir Śaivism believe in the non-difference (*advaita*) between Śiva and Śakti. In the words of Mahāmahopādhyāya Gopinath Kaviraj:[31]

> Śiva and Śakti are primarily one and the same. That which is Parama Śiva is also Para Śakti Śiva without Śakti bereft of His powers, viz. desires, knowledge and action are unable to vibrate. He is only a *śava* (dead body), and Śakti without Śiva will not be able to illumine even Herself:
>
> शिवों देव: शिवा देवीं शिवो ज्योतितिरितित्रिधा ।
> अलिडमपि ततत्वं लिडभदेन गम्यते ।।
>
> *śivoṁ devaḥ śivā devīṁ śivo jyotitirititridhā* ।
> *aliḍamapi tatavaṁ liḍabhadena gamyate* ।।

In fact, *parama prakāśa* Śiva is both *visarga* and *bindu*. V.P. Upadhyaya in his "Introduction" to *Mantra aur Mātṛkāoṅ kā Rahaysa*[32] of S.S. Awasthi rightly points out that *prakāśa* is of the nature of Parama Śiva and has been described by the words like *viśrānta* and *parā-prakṛti-māyā-avidyā*. It is *visarga* when it creates the worldly entities in itself of its own will. And again, when with the intention of wiping out the worldly objects starts to merge *prakṛti* within itself, it is called *bindu*.[33]

In *tāntrika*s opinion (*aham*) feeling (*parāmarśa*) of Śiva–Śakti is complete and innate. This feeling of Śiva–Śakti is called *parahanta*

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31 For details, see Gopinath Kaviraj, 2003, *Tantra aur Āgama Śāstroṅ kā Digdarśana*, Patna: Bihar Rashtrabhasha Parishad, 2nd edn, and "Satya kā Parama Rūpa", in *Tāntrika Vāṅmaya meṅ Śākta Dṛṣṭi*, Bihar Rashtrabhasha Parishad, Patna, 3rd edn, 1994.

32 Published from Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series Office, Varanasi, 1969.

33 Ibid., p. 13. Cf. स्वेच्छया स्वमित्तौ विश्वमुन्मीलयति ।।2।। 'स्वेच्छया' न तु ब्रह्मादिवद् अन्येच्छया तथैव च न उपादानाम्पर्येक्षया, 'एव' हि प्रागुकृम्वातन्त्र्यहान्या चित्त्वमेव न घटेत् — 'स्वमित्तौ' न तु अन्यत्र क्वापि, प्राक् निर्णीतं 'विश्वं' दर्पणे नगरवत् अभिन्नमपि भिन्नमिव 'उन्मीलयति' । उन्मीलनं च अवस्थितस्यैव प्रकटीकरणम्।। — Kṣemarāja, *Pratyabhijñā-hṛdaya, sūtra* 2

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(complete I-ness). It is only of the nature of indeterminate knowledge. There appear divisions in it because of His *svātantrya-śakti*. This *parahanta* (supreme I-ness) of *parāvāk* manifests itself in three forms, viz. *paśyantī, madhyamā* and *vaikharī* in the state of evolution. Each of these three is again of three kinds: gross (*sthūla*), subtle (*sūkṣma*) and supreme (*para*). Though the *parama tattva* is of the nature of indivisible light (*nirāṁśa prakāśa*), the above division appears in Him because of its three main powers known as *para* or *anuttara cit-śakṭi, parāpara* or *icchā-śakti* and *apara* or *unmeṣa-rūpa jñāna-śakti*. These three powers combined together make the *pūrṇa-śakti* (complete power) of *Parameśvara*. According to the Āgamas, *cit-śakti* is अ, *icchā-śakti* is इ and *unmeṣa* or *jñāna-śakti* is उ. This trio of *śakti* is *trikoṇa* (triangle). Primarily, *Parameśvara* has six *śaktis* including the above three, the other three are आ from the shaking (*kṣobha*) of अ, ई from the shaking of इ, ऊ from the shaking of उ. The आ should be taken for *ānanda*, ई for *īśāna* and ऊ for *ūrmi*. These six *svaras* (vowels) are seeds of the cluster of letters (*varṇas*). They are famous as six dieties (*ṣaḍ-devatā*) or the six rays of *sūrya* (sun). These six powers combined together constitute *kriyā-śakti*. The twelve *śaktis* evolve from it. The ऋ, ॠ, ऌ, ॡ of them are *klīva* vowels. All other powers are included in these twelve *śaktis*. Only Parama Śiva associated with the above twelve *śaktis* is *pūrṇa-śakti*. The *Mātṛkācakraviveka* has beautifully described in length the development of vowels and consonants.[34]

It follows from the above discussion that the Kāśmīr Śaivism or the Pratabhijñā philosophy and Tantras believe in the Śivādvyavāda and the Śāktādvaitavāda. While the adherents of Śivādvyavāda hold that Śiva is the Supreme Reality (*parama tattva*), the supporters, of Śāktādvaitavāda say that Śakti is the Supreme Reality (*parama tattva*). Besides some other differences all these Advaita (non-dualist) theories have affinity with Śaṅkara's Brahmādvyavāda. All the four non-dualist schools, namely, Śivādvyavāda, Brahmādvyavāda, Śāktādvaitavāda and Tantrādvyavāda unanimously accept that

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34 V.P. Upadhyaya, 1969, "Introduction" to *Mantra aur Mātṛkāoṅ kā Rahasya*, pp. 16-18.

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there are two causal factors beneath the worldly creation, i.e. the *parama tattva*, be it Śiva–Śakti or *Brahman* and the *māyā*. According to the Pratyabhijñā, Śaiva and Śākta systems, Śiva–Sakti and *māyā* are the causes, and in view of the Brahmādvyvāda, *Brahman* and *māyā* are the causes. It may however be noted that in the Pratyabhijñā and in the Tantra systems, the world is real but in the Brahmādvyavāda, the created world is unreal or false like a piece of rope. superimposed on the snake.

The created world is appearance (*ābhāsa*) for both of the Śivādvyavādins and Brahmādvyavādins, and they are thus Ābhāsavādins. According to the Śivādvyavādins, Parama Śiva is like a taintless mirror where we can see distinctly the reflections of village, city and tree, etc. which, in fact, are existing already in Him, whereas in view of the Brahmādvyavādins, namely, Śaṅkarācārya and his followers like Sureśvarācārya and Vidyāraṇya, as only one sun or moon appears in diverse forms, because of its appearance in different pots containing water, even so the non-dual *Brahman* reflecting in *māyā* and its effects like an internal organ appears in multiple forms. The nature of *ābhāsa* is however not the same in their views. To the exponents of Śivādvyavāda it is real, and for the adherents of Brahmādvyavāda it is unreal or false. Some other differences between these two schools have already been pointed out while introducing the fourth school of Śaivism.

The Śaiva Siddhānta referred to as the fourth school of Śaivism is also non-dualistic. It, however, does not agree with the Pratyabhijñā and the Śaṅkarādvaita doctrines of causality. Besides Śiva, it accepts two other ontologically distinct and external causes, viz. *māyā* and *jīva*. Believing in the theory of *satkārya* as it does, it argues that as the material cause of the non-intelligent world there must be admitted the non-intelligent *māyā*. *Māyā* is so called because the world is resolved (*ma*) into it, and is evolved (*ya*) from it. It is the primordial stuff of which the universe is made. Being non-intelligent *Māyā* cannot evolve of itself, it requires guidance from an intelligent "Being" and that "Being" is Śiva. Śiva, however, acts on *māyā*, not directly, but through his *cit-śakti*,

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which is the instrumental cause. Thus unlike Kashmir Śaivism or Śaṅkarādvyavāda or Brahmādvyavāda which maintains Śiva or *Brahman* alone as the cause of universe, the Śaiva Siddhānta accepts three kinds of causes: Śiva as the efficient cause, *māyā* as the material cause and Śakti as the instrumental cause. The creation theory of the Pratyabhijñā and the Śaṅkarādvyavāda is appearance, but for the former, it is real, and for the latter, it is unreal.

Contrarily, Śaiva Siddhānta advocates Satkāryavāda. It says, for example, if the tree with its branches, etc. were not contained in the seed in a subtle form, it would not come out of the seed. The Pratyabhijñā thinkers and the Śaiva Siddhāntins present diametrically opposit views on the nature of soul and its relation to Parama Śiva. The followers of Pratyabhijñā believe that the soul is of the nature of consciousness, and the individual soul is the same as the universal soul. The Pure Consciousness dwells in each of us, though it is obscured by unreal *upādhi*s (receptacles) like body. His bondage is due to ignorance (*ajñāna*). Kṣemarāja observes:

> Being infinite consciousness he thinks; that I am the body, it forgets that the world is wholly unreal apart from Śiva and the soul is identical with Śiva. Brahmādvyavādins also accept non-difference between *jīva* and *Brahman* on the basis of Upaniṣadic sentences like "I am *Brahman*", "That Thou Art", etc.

Differing from the Pratyabhijñā and Śaṅkarādvaita views, the Śaiva Siddhānta holds that souls are many since each of them has a distinct body, mind, etc. When one is born, all are not born, when one dies, all do not die, and when one is released, all are not released. The scriptural statement like the self is one does not refer to the soul. It is a declaration made about God who is one. The souls are related to god as body is related to soul. God pervades the souls as the letter अ pervades all the letters. The relations between *jīva* and Śiva in the Śaiva Siddhānta is also Advaita but the Advaita in this system means not *abheda* (non-difference) but *ananyatā* (non-separateness) like that of Viśiṣṭādvaita or Qualified Monism, of

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Rāmānujācārya.[35]

In view of what has been discussed, it is obvious that the *Śiva-rahasya* is a treasury of the variety of Śaiva faiths that arose in India in the forms of monism (Advaita) and non-monism (Dvaita) right from the pre-historic ages to modern times. It will not be an exaggeration to say that the Śaivism in a *Gītā* word (XV.1), is like an imperishable *aśvattha* (holy fig) tree which has been practised continuously not only in India from Kashmir to Kanyakumari and also in other countries from Nepal to United Kingdom, and its *parama tattva* Śiva has been incessantly adored by gods and divine human beings even in the *svargaloka*.

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35 For differences between the non-dualist systems of Śaivism, etc. see Satya Deva Misra, 1979, *Advaita Vedānta meiṅ Ābhāsavāda*, Patna: Indira Prakashan, pp. 255-60; 1969, "The Theory of Appearance in Śāṅkara Vedānta", in *Indian Philosophical Annual*, vol. 5, pp. 272-90, University of Madras; 2004, "Pratyabhijña Vimanśa evaṁ Advaita Vedānta Samīkṣā", *Journal of Philosophical Research*, XII.1: 1-18.

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5

The Rāmacaritam of Ciraman
Its Significance in Malayalam Language and Literature

T.B. Venugopala Panickar

Why Rāmacaritam

VARIOUS scholars have written on the *Rāmacaritam* which according to the earliest literary historians of Malayalam is the earliest extant poetical treatise in this language. The recent view differs from this. Conflicting views have come up not only regarding the date of its creation but also about the authorship, the nature of its linguistic expression as well as the regime to which the author belonged.

The manuscripts and the printed versions of the *Rāmacaritam* now available also differ considerably. The only critical edition, worth that qualification, of this old text is by M.M. Purushothaman Nair, which he completed and submitted as a part of his PhD programme to the University of Kerala in 1976, is yet to be printed. He persued about eighteen available palm-leaf manuscripts and printed texts, as it stands now very few libraries have the complete text of the printed version of the *Rāmacaritam*. Many copies of the manuscripts also seem to have disappeared of late. Purushothaman Nair talks about twenty manuscripts (2000: 9).

In spite of all these difficulties the *Rāmacaritam* is one of great importance to a student of Malayalam. Before the discovering of the *Tirunizalmala* in 1981 the only extant work in the typical Paṭṭu style written exclusively in *dramiḍa saṅghaṭa pāṭham*, meaning the exclusive Tamil Script, and hence obeying the constraints of Tamil phonology. Scholars have succeeded in tracing the influence of the *Rāmacaritam* in later Malayalam poetical works.

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So its tradition continued even though in later days the relevance of the distinction between Paṭṭu and Maṇipravālam was lost. Even the scholars, who find it difficult to admit that the earliest poetical work in Malayalam language is in the *Rāmacaritam*, are ready to state that the earliest elaborate devotional poem is the *Rāmacaritam*. It has incomparable verbal elegance. It is neither by a folk poet nor is written in a style imitating folk poetry as imagined by some earlier reviewers. It belongs to a tradition of classical, poetic nurture and culture. It is not written for unsophisticated soldiers, nor is it a war song. It is easy to understand that it was this work which showed the way to later poetic works written in native metres and possess epic dimension like the *Kṛṣṇagāthā* of fifteenth century CE (Ezhuthachan 1971: 85-86). the *Rāmacaritam* is a big work of more than 7,000 lines. It has 164 divisions (usually called *paṭalam* by editors) and 1,814 stanzas in total. The critical editor considers 147 stanzas to be interpretations. If so we get 1,767 stanzas and slightly over 7,000 lines. None of the early poems of Maṇipravālam style is so elaborate. Hence the earliest known poem of epic dimension is still The the *Rāmacaritam*.

On the Theme and Name of the Work

The *Rāmacaritam* follows that section of the *Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa* which deals with the war between Rāma and Rāvaṇa, its preparation and the ultimate result of crowning Rāma with his consort Sītā — the Yuddhakāṇḍa. The description of war efforts and the incidents in the war get predominance. But the whole of the *Rāmāyaṇa* story is narrated in a kind of flashback through the conversations of characters. The narrator in many places is Hanumān.

Since the *Rāmacaritam* follows Yuddhakāṇḍa of Vālmīki, there was an impression that it was written to induce and invigorate the soldiers and the author was a warlord, a king or a chieftain. Govinda Pillai, the first literary historian, renders the author of *Rāmacaritam* to be a king of the then Travancore or Veṇād in his book the *Malayālā-bhāṣāgranthasamuccaya-caritram* (literally a history of books in Malayalam language) reproduced

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in the name the *Malayālā-bhāṣa-caritram* (a history of Malayalam language). Similar was the view held by native grammarian Kovunni Nedungadi in his work the *Kerala Kaumudī* (1930: iii). Tamilisms in this work hence are deemed to be the influence of Tamil-Malayalam bilingual area of the then South Travancore (the present-day Kanyakumari district of Tamil Nadu).

As is evident from the discussion of the theme of *Rāmacaritam*, this work is a kind of free tranzlation of Vālmīki's work. Thus These many instances of summarizations, expansions, innovations and improvisations.

The name as given in the text is *Iramacaritham* which can be equated with the *Rāmacarizatam* since according to Tamil phonological rule no word can start in an alveolar or retroflex consonants. Hence any loan word with initial *r* or *l* has to have a prothetic vowel.

The name of the work is given in the proclamation of the reward of this devotional poem (*phalaśruti*) towards the end. It is stated that in the minds of those who recite the *Irāmacaritam* leaving away the stiffness (*kanam azintu*) and also in the minds of those who pleasingly hear it Lord Viṣṇu and Lakṣmī will be present and they will never have any grief.

Right from the time of Gundert's partial publication in 1856 we continue to call this work the *Rāmacaritam*, he made use of this poem profusely in his grammar (1852) and dictionary (1872).

The Poet

Nothing is known about the poet of the poem except that he is one Ciraman and that he is an earnest devotee of Viṣṇu: *atitevanil amiznta manakanmputaya ciraman ci* is the Tamilized form of *śrī* (auspicious, prosperous one).

Taking the cue from Pillai and Nedungadi, Mahākavi Ulloor Parameswara Iyer traces the authorship (in chapter 13th of first volume of his literary history) a king of Veṇād by the name Śrī Rāma Varman who ruled before 1208 CE. This dynasty, we know,

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has Viṣṇu in the form of Padmanābha as their family diety. In the invocation as well as in the epilogue we find references to Padmanabha. Later researchers like K.N. Ezhuttachan (1971: 85), P.V. Krishnan Nair (1973: 16-23), Purushothaman Nair (2000: 10-11) raises serious objections to Ulloor's proposition. They are of the opinion that the author is from the northern part of Kerala. Krishnan Nair still is reluctant to discard Ulloor's opinion regarding the authorship of the *Rāmacaritam* and finds a solution to this intricate problem by arguing that the royal families of Veṇād in the south and Kolattunād in the north are really branches of the same lineage. This becomes valid only when we can prove that it was a member of that lineage who wrote this poem.

The arguments to prove that this is a northern composition are, however, strong:

1. Till recently this poem was honoured as a devotional work worthy of daily recital only in the northern part of Kerala.
2. The majority of manuscripts of this work are from the northern Kerala and none from anywhere south Trivandrum.
3. In later works like the *Kṛṣṇagāthā*, the *Rāmāyaṇa Campū* and Ezhuttachan's *Adhyātmarāmāyaṇam* we see evidences for the influence of *Rāmacaritam*. Such influence is not seen in works from the sothern part of Kerala.
4. Many lexical items still in currency in the northern part of Kerala are seen used in the *Rāmacaritam* like *catu* (to throw), *tuval* (leafy branch of trees) and *matampu* (heal). In many instances the accusative suffix is *-a-* (and not *-e-*) which considered non-standard in the south.

On Fixing the Date of Composition

Most of the earlier scholars who took the *Rāmacaritam* to be the earliest poetic treatise in Malayalam preferred to fix it to twelfth century CE. Considering the linguistic change and comparing it with the changes traceable in other works in Malayalam we can come to

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the conclusion that the *Rāmacaritam* belongs to a period not much earlier to the *Līlātilakam*. So it cannot be earlier than fourteenth century CE. This is not to deny that this work abounds in archaism which goes back to the common stage of Malayalam and Tamil, and also to a stage earlier to old Tamil. There in fact are conscious Tamilizations as well. The Tamil content of the *Rāmacaritam* is not due to any colloquial influence and, as the average, most of the forms are not older than what we find a in Middle Tamil Bakti literary works. It may also be noted that exclusive Tamil is also absent. This situation may be contrasted with the *Rāmakathāppaṭṭu* where we find exclusive Tamil formation like *unkal* your (*unkal tiraviyankal kalavant atinto*? "have stolen your belongings?") and *ace* "has become" (in the place of literary Tamil *ayitte*).

Texture of the Rāmacaritam

In contrast with texts written in a Tamil–Malayalam bilingual area, whether they may be treated as Tamil texts showing very high influence of Malayalam or Malayalam texts falling under the spell of Tamil, the *Rāmacaritam* has a texture very close to those well-known Tamil texts of the Middle Tamil devotional genre. He quotes a stanza from *Mantrankam Attaprararam* (1974: 312) stating that this is from Malayalam Paṭṭu text earlier than the *Rāmacaritam*. In fact, this is from the last section of the *Kamparāmāyaṇam*. The present-day Kutiyāṭṭam artists also share Ulloor's view in this regard. This implies that at one stage Malayalam poetry was not much different from Tamil poetry. This probably explains why the *Līlātilakam* in its elaborate commentary the very first *sūtra* makes a statement to the effect that the language of Kerala is not completely (*nyakṣeṇa*) different from the language of *Tiruvāymozi*, a Middle Age Tamil text. It is also asserted that the basic phonology of the language of Kerala (which acquired the name Malayalam later) agrees with that of Tamil — *dramiḍa saṅghaṭa pāṭham*. It is to be noted that the commentary does not stop here, but goes on defining the characteristic features of Malayalam which differentiate it from Tamil.

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The texture of Kampar can be seen in the following lines that narrates the way in which sea-bridge is built by monkeys.

kalitai oru malai urutti kaikalil melitai oru malai enti vin-totum ।
culutai mazai mukil cuzntu cuttiya valitai oru malai irttu vanta val ॥

One mountain a monkey rolled by leg. One was carried in hands. He drew another high mountain, which is surrounded by rainy cloud, by his tail.

This closely resembles the *Rāmacaritam*, not in content but in the total effect of phonological form.

On Various Printed Editions

The Rāmacaritam received scholarly attention when Gundert published a part of the text in 1856. Ulloor also published it in parts (1917). It was Sambasiva Sastri who first published the text in full (1932). Another complete printing with commentary is by P.V. Krishnan Nair first in 1953. The complete critical edition by Purushothaman Nair remains unpublished.

Both Ezhuttachan and Krishnan Nair tell us that the *Rāmacaritam* is a transcreation of the source text. More elaborately Purushothaman Nair (2000: 17-29) deals with this issue. He talks about additions, variations, improvisations, deletions, expansions, alteration in the order incidences narrated. The *Rāmacaritam* became the role model for many later authors in this regard. How far Ezhuttachan in his *Adhyātmarāmāyaṇam Kilippaṭṭu* follows *Rāmacaritam* is dealt in detail by Purushothaman Nair (1981: 66-84). At times it is not mere following, it is paraphrasing.

R.C.: *utakuvor oru turattinu ini ar oruvar* — "who is there to help to bear the burden"

Ar: *arini ullatu oru sahayattinnu* — "who is there for a help".

The Līlātilakam and the Rāmacaritam

Any discussion on the linguistic and literary features of the *Rāmacaritam*, a refernce to the definition of Paṭṭu in the *Līlātilakam*

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is inevitable because as we know this poetic composition agrees in total with the definition given in that treatise on Malayalam grammar and poetics. We also know that but for the *tirunizalmala* no Paṭṭu work of later days sgree with the definition as they tend towards Maṇiprāvalam style with *tatsama* — loans as well as inflected Sanskrit words.

The definition of Paṭṭu in the *Līlātilakam* is to clear the doubt regarding the adequacy of the defintion of Maṇipravālam, which is literary composition with native words as well as inflected Sanskrit words. Do the Paṭṭu works also contain inflected Sanskrit words in them? Even they should be in *draṃiḍa saṅghaṭākṣaram* (should be nativized in phonology). It should also have clear rhyming and metrical consonants also. Hence Paṭṭu is a poetic composition (*nibandham*) with strict rhyming patterns (*ethuka* and *mona*) and non-Sanskritic metres (*vṛtta viśeṣa*). Now *ethuka* is the agreement in the second letter in each line and *mona* is the agreement of the first letter in beginning of both half of each line.

In the commentary to this *sūtra* there is a statement of atmost importance: *paṇḍya bhāṣā sārūpyam bāhulyena paṭṭil keralabhāṣāyām bhavati*. This can mean that formal equivalence with Tamil words occur in Paṭṭu of Kerala *bhāṣā* in abundance. In the stanza, given as an example, not a single instance of nasal assimilation or palatal assimilation is present. These changes are quite characteristic of Malayalam according to the commentary of first *sūtra*. What does their absence point to? How can such a stanza be of Kerala *bhāṣā*? Hence the meaning of *bāhulyena* need not necessarily be "in abundance". Since *bāhulavidhi* in grammar is an optional rule *paṇḍyabhāsāṣarūpyam* or Tamil-like forms can be considered "optional" and not "obligatory". This accounts for the low frequency of Tamil-like forms in certain portions in the *Rāmacaritam* as well as in certain recensions.

We can't be quite sure about the silence of such vast poetical work in the *Līlātilakam*. It may be that the commentator got an adequate stanza to exemplify his points and since the main theme was not an explanation of Paṭṭu genre, he left out the *Rāmacaritam*.

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It might be that the *Rāmacaritam* was written after the *Līlātilakam* or more probably this northern work did not reach him, who evidently belonged to the sothern part of Kerala.

The Tamil-like forms of Paṭṭu cannot be the colloquialism of less privileged section of the society who are said to use words without *nasan* assimilation: *nanu vantan, iruntan teṅka, maṅka ityaikam bhāsante kerala hīnajātayaḥ*. This is because Paṭṭu is not said to possess any colloquialism. Again absence of palatal assimilation was not currency in the substandard dialects during that period of time. Hence any assumption that Paṭṭu was the poetic expression of the non-*traivarṇika*s is not valid.

But for the optional *paṇḍyabhāṣāsārūpyam* the language of *Rāmacaritam* is basically the native content of Maṇipravālam, not much earlier than the period of the *Līlātilakam*.

As regards to the Sanskritic content, we can be sure of nativization of phonology, the well-known *ariyaccitaivu* (which itself is from *aryacyuti*, deformed Sanskrit). Hence we have *ari* for *hari*, where as *anananam* which agrees with the native phonology is unaltered. Rarely at least declined Sanskrit nouns are adapted to native Tamil phonology. Hence we have *ukkiray nāma* and *accutaya nāma*, etc. At times a phrasal compound is also declined, *mikka celvam iyal curiyāya nāma* (salute to Sūrya who possesses abundant prosperity). In the place of *sambhava nāmaḥ* we have *campuvaya nāma*. Here and there we have *kānane* (in the forest), *kekinam* (of the peahens).

Kampar never hesitates to adapt partially or fully proper nouns as well as to translate them. Hence *vajra-daṁṣṭra* is adapted and translated as *vacciratteyittavan* (one with a diamond fang). Some names are literally translated, *agniketu* is thus adapted as *azal kotiyon*, one with fire flag. The *Rāmacaritam* follows this tradition: *vajra-danta* is *vaccira vallekiran*, *meghanāda* (thunder sounding one) is *itikkuralan*. It is interesting to note that *dhurjaṭa* is *kattccetayan*. The *Kṛṣṇagāthā* also has *kañcan* for *kaṁsa*, *aṅki* for *agni* with *ariyaccitaivu*.

On the Phonetic Evaluation of Consonant Cluster

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In Malayalam as in Tamil *r* is phonologically distinct from an alveolar plosive, at least historically. Hence what is written *rr*-like *arram* is evaluated as a voiceless plosive. In accordance with the regular rule of pronunciation *nr* is evaluated as [*nd*] phonetically. Tamil has lost this in spoken variant and hence while reading *nr* is evaluated as [*ndr*] while in Malayalam we have [*nd*] in *enre* (my). In older texts we have another *nr* corresponding to long dental nasal in the present-day Malayalam. Thus in *kunṟu* (hill), etc. we have *kunṟu*, etc. Now the problem arises. How are we to evaluate what is written as *-nr-* in old texts? There is a view that *nr* is just a writing habit to evaluate long dental nasal (Purushothaman Nair 1981: 43-65). It is probably correct to assume that this dentalization and nasal assimilation is as old as the *Līlātilakam;* an argument is raised in *śilpa* 2 of that work that *rr* is from *nd* of Kannada. But to assume that **nt* cannot be reconstructed to pre-Malayalam is probably wrong because in formations like *urul- uruntu- urutt* is parallel to

	akal	*-*akant*	*-akatt*
again	*un*	*-unt*	*-utt*
is parallel to	*tin*	*-*tint*	*-titt.*

This proves that **nt-* yields internal reconstruction. The prescence of *-nt-* in many tribal dialects and Lakshadweep dialect supplies comparative for its reconstruction. Again when *-nk-, -nc-, -nt-, -nt-, -mp-* were permitted it is better to assume that *-nt-* sequence was also permitted in pre-Malayalam before its dentalization and nasal assimilation. So *nr* spelling may be retained as an instance of archaism like other instances of *paṇḍyabhāṣāsārūpyam.*

There is another view that the *Līlātilakam* permits "ahistorical/ artificial" *-nt-* as *vantu* (came) in the place of *vantu/vannu*. This view is probably a result of scribal error because in that context if it were *vanthu* of past tense, there would be no present tense form and the *sūtra* does talk about three tenses.

Finale

The author would like to leave this an open-ended paper as he feels

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that much work is still to be done on the linguistics and poetics of the *Rāmacaritam*.

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6

Editing of Āyurvedic Manuscripts

S.D. Kamat

THE subject of manuscriptology is usually studied by phylologists. However, its introduction in the curriculum of Āyurvedic PG students is important. Āyurveda being an ancient science, there may be some missing points and links which are not mentioned in classical texts (*bṛhat-trayī* or *laghu-trayī*). These can be searched and researched in the texts of Āyurvedic manuscripts which are not published. There are thousands of titles of Āyurveda (not manuscripts) which are yet to be published.

Few more explanations, new light on Āyurvedic concepts, many more plants, their therapeutic uses, methods of using these drugs might have been included in the treasure of these unpublished works (titles).

It is also to be noted that the published works are not critically edited. This is the reason of inclusion of this subject in the curriculum of PG students of Āyurveda.

The term manuscript consists of two components. *Manus* means hand and *script* means any document written in script or alphabets or characters, pictures, etc. Human beings are endowed with a better intelligence and capacity for communication than any other beings.

In the early part of development of human beings communication must have been by spoken words (speech), gestures, etc. But, spoken words could not reach people at distant places and could not be preserved for future time. It was not possible to save thoughts, orders, experiences, etc. This need must have been the basis of

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writing or script. In the earlier period graphical representation and recognition of the spoken words into a regular script must have taken a very long time. Though important, we are not going to discuss about the evolution of script in India. However, the scholars have proved that Brāhmī and Kharoṣṭhī were the early Indian scripts. After the great efforts of scholars of the last two centuries these could be properly deciphered.

Pictographic characters on the earthen pots of Moheṅjo-Daṛo and Haṛappā are yet to be deciphered. The history of evolution of pictographic script of Indus Valley Civilization leading to Brāhmī and Kharoṣṭhī is still in the dark.

For a scholar of Āyurveda who desires to edit critically either a published or an unpublished text should have some knowledge of scripts.

What Is the Necessity of Critical Edition

It may be asked that the classical texts and other important titles explaining Āyurvedic theory and practice are already published. Then what is the necessity of publishing these books again? The answer can be given by quoting few citations. K.C. Chunekar in the introduction of *Plants of Bhava Prakash* mentions:

> While studying the text it was observed that there are many versions (*pāṭhabheda*) available not only in the published books and in the manuscripts available in different libraries. In this context it may be pointed out that in the headline of *Jīvantī* in the *Nighaṇṭu* part the version is "सा शर्करावत् मधुरपुष्पा व्रततिर्भवति — *sā śarkarāvat madhurapuṣpā vratatirbhavati*" which created confusion in the identity of correct source plant. But after scrutiny of the manuscript it was found that the correct version is "साऽर्कवत् मधुरपुष्पा व्रततिर्भवति — *sā 'rkavat madhurapuṣpā vratatirbhavati*". This clearly points towards the climber *Leptadenia reticulata* W.A. of Asclepiadeceae family. But, correction of the text with the help of different manuscripts is itself a vast work and requires a special study. This is very necessary not only for this book but also for all old books to solve many misunderstandings. It is surprising that

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such critical work is available for Paurāṇic books like *Mahābhārata* (BORI) Poona, 1969 and not even for a single compendium like Caraka which has practical implications dealing with human life. — p. VI

Anantalal Thakur in the *Journal of Asiatic Society* (Kolkata, 1994) has written:

There are scores of such works awaiting scholarly handling and the society under the patronage of national government is eminently fit to get them edited and published and thus save as much of our ancient lore as possible.

In case native scholars are found unfit, foreign scholars may be invited for the work. But as the materials are fragile and often inept handling any more delay may become disastrous.

— XXXVI(3): 180-83

Let us see a few examples from classical and medieval literature:

कल्याणक घृतम्
विशाला त्रिफला कौन्ती देवदार्वेलवलुकम् ।
स्थिराऽनन्ता रजन्यौ द्वे सारिवे द्वे प्रियङ्गुकम् ।। — चरक-पदे, चि० १४, पृ० ६०

विशाला त्रिफला कौन्ती देवदार्वेलवलुकम् ।
स्थिरा नतं रजन्यौ द्वे सारिवे द्वे प्रियङ्गुका ।। — चरक निर्णयसागर, चि० ९.३५

उन्मादसूदनी वर्तिः
ब्राह्मीमैन्द्रीं विडङ्गानि व्योषं हिङ्गु *सुरां जटाम्* ।
विषघ्नीं लशुनं रास्नां विशल्यां सुरसां वचाम् ।।३०।।
ज्योतिष्मतीं *नागरं* च *अनन्ता*मभयां तथा ।
सौराष्ट्रीं च समांशानि गजमूत्रेण पेषयेत् ।।३१।। — सुश्रुत उ० ६२.३०-३१

ब्राह्मीमैन्द्रीं विडङ्गानि व्योषं *हिङ्गुजटां मुराम्* ।।३८।।
रास्नां विषघ्नां लशुनं विशल्यां सुरसां वचाम् ।
ज्योतिष्मतीं नागविन्नामनन्तां सहरीतकीम् ।।३९।।
काङ्क्षी च हस्तिमूत्रेण पिष्ट्वा छाया विशोषिता।वर्तिर्नस्याञ्जनालेपधूपैरुन्मादसूदनी।।४०।।
— अष्टाङ्गहृदयम् उ० ६

ब्राह्मीमैन्द्रीं विडङ्गानि व्योषं *हिङ्गुजटामुरम्* ।
रास्नां विषघ्नां लशुनं विशल्या सुरसं वचाम् ।।४४।।

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ज्योतिष्मतीं नागविन्नामनन्तां सहरीतकीम् ।
काम्लीं च हस्तिमूत्रेण पिष्ट्वा छायाविशोषिता ॥
वर्तिर्नस्याञ्जनालेय धूपैरुन्मादसूदनी ॥४५॥
— अष्टाङ्गसंग्रह उ० ९९०.४४-४५

Kalyāṇaka ghṛtam

viśālā triphalā kauntī devadārvelavālukam ।
sthirā 'nantā rajanyau dve sārive dve priyaṅgukam ॥
— *Caraka-pade, Ci.* 14, p. 60

viśālā triphalā kauntī devadārkelavālukam ।
sthirā nataṁ rajanyau dve sārive dve priyaṅgukā ॥
— *Caraka Nirṇayasāgara, Ci.* 9.35

Unmādasūdanī vartiḥ

brāhmīmaindrīṁ viḍoṅgāni vyosaṁ hiṅgu surāṁ jaṭām ।
viṣaghnīṁ laśunaṁ rāsnāṁ viśalyāṁ surasāṁ vacām ॥30॥
jyotiṣmatīṁ nāgaraṁ ca anantāmabhayāṁ tathā ।
saurāṣṭrīṁ ca samāṁśāni gajamūtreṇa peṣayet ॥31॥
— *Suśruta U.* 62.30-31

brāhmīmaindrīṁ viḍoṅgānīṁ vyosaṁ hiṅgujaṭāṁ mūram ॥38॥
rāsnāṁ viṣaghnāṁ laśunaṁ viśalyāṁ surasāṁ vacām ।
jyotiṣmatīṁ nāgavinnāmanantāṁ saharītakīm ॥39॥
kāṅkṣī ca hastimūtreṇa piṣṭvā chāyā viśoṣitā ।
Vartirnasyāñjanālepadhūpairunmādasūdanī ॥40॥
— *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdayam U.* 6

brāhmīmaindrī viḍaṅgāni vyosaṁ hiṅgujaṭāṁ mūram ।
rāsnāṁ viṣaghnāṁ laśunaṁ viśalyāṁ surasaṁ vacām ॥44॥
jyotiṣmatīṁ nāgavinnāmanantāṁ saharītakīm ।
kamlīṁ ca hastimūtreṇa piṣṭvā chāyāviśoṣitā ॥
Vartirnasyāñjanālepadhūpairunmādasūdanī ॥45॥
— *Aṣṭāṅgasaṁgraha U.* 9.44-45

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डल्हण(सुश्रुतसंहिता)	इन्दुः(अष्टाङ्ग संग्रहः)	अरुणदत्तः(अष्टाङ्गहृदयम्)
१. ब्राह्मी – ब्राह्मी-मण्डूकपर्णी अन्ये लवणिकामाहुः ।		
२. ऐन्द्री–इन्द्रवारुणी अन्ये मत्स्याक्षकभेद माहुः।		
३. हिङ्गु	हिङ्गुजटा – हिङ्गुपत्री ।	
४. सुराम् – सुराह्वम् अन्तलोपात् अन्ये तु इन्द्रसुरा-इन्द्रवारुणी इन्द्रशब्दलोपात् ।	मुरम्	मुरा
५. जटा – जटामांसी		
६. विषघ्नी – हरिद्रा अन्ये निर्विषामाहुः ।	विषघ्ना – सोमराजी कटभी च	विषघ्ना – अतिविषा
७. विशल्या – गुडूची	विशल्या – गर्भपातनी	विशल्या – लाङ्गली
८. नागरम् – शुण्ठी। अत्रान्ये नागविन्ना इति पठन्ति । नागविन्ना – इन्द्रवारुणीभेदः । वृश्चिकपत्रिक इत्यपरे ।	नागविन्ना – नागदन्ती	नागविन्ना - नागदन्ती ।
९. अनन्ता – उत्पलसारिवा ।	अनन्ता - दूर्वा	

Dalhaṇa (Suśruta Saṁhitā)	*Induḥ (Aṣṭāṅga Saṁgrahaḥ)*	*Aruṇadattaḥ (Aṣṭāṅgahṛdayam)*
1. *brāhmī — brāhmī — maṇḍūkaparṇī anye lavaṇikāmāhuḥ*		
2. *aindrī — indravāruṇī anye matsyākṣakabheda māhuḥ* ।		
3. *hiṅgu*	*hiṅgujaṭā — hiṅgupatrī*	
4. *surām — surāhvam antalopāt anye tu indrasurā-indra-vāruṇī indraśabdalopāt* ।	*muram*	*murā*
5. *jaṭā — jaṭāmāṁsī*		
6. *viṣaghnī — haridrā anye nirviṣāmāhuḥ*	*viṣaghnā — somarājī kaṭabhi ca*	*viṣaghnā — ativiṣā*
7. *viśalyā — gūḍūcī*	*viśalyā — garbhapātanī*	*viśalyā-lāṅgalī*
8. *nāgaram — śuṇṭhī* । *atrānye nāgavinnā iti paṭhanti* । *nāgavinnā — indravāruṇībhedaḥ* । *vṛścikapatrika ityapare* ।	*nāgavinnā — nāgadantī*	*nāgavinnā—nāgadantī*

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9. *anantā — utpalasārivā* । *anantā — dūrvā*

These are the examples from classical texts. Another example is from the *Dhanvantari Nighaṇṭu*. It is one of the oldest *nighaṇṭu* and is frequently referred by the scholars and students of Āyurveda. It was published byAnandashrama Mudranalaya, Pune (along with the *Rājanighaṇṭu*) in 1896 and was reprinted in 1925. It was also translated into Hindi under the editorship of Acharya Priyavrataji Sharma, Vd. Zarakhande Ozaji and was also printed by Venkateshvara Mudranalaya somewhere in 1903. It might have been translated into Telugu and other regional languages. I have edited it with text and comments by late Vd. D.K. Kamat in 2002 (following the text of Anandashrama). I shall like to quote two readings here to understand the importance of textual criticism and the study of manuscripts (Manuscriptology).

1. गुडूच्यतिविषामूर्वामञ्जिष्ठाधन्वयासकैः ।
वासाखदिरनिम्बैश्च पिबेत्क्वाथं तु वातिके ॥ —धन्व.नि, आनन्दाश्रम, पृ० २

guḍūcyativiṣā-mūrvā-mañjiṣṭhā-dhanvayāsakaiḥ ।
vāsā-khadiranimbaiśca pibet-kvāthaṁ tu vātike ॥
— *Dhanva. Ni.*, Ānandāśrama, p. 2

गुडूच्यतिविषामूर्वा मञ्जिष्ठा धन्वयासकैः ।
वासाखदिरनिम्बैश्च पिबेत्क्वाथं कफज्वरे ॥
— सुर०भा० प्रकाशन, स०दि० कामत

guḍūcyativiṣā-mūrvā mañjiṣṭhā-dhanvayāsakaiḥ ।
vāsā-khadira-nimbaiśca pibet-kvāthaṁ kaphajvare ॥
— Surabhāratī Prakāśana, S.D. Kamat

In the footnote I have mentioned the reading "पिबेत् क्वाथं तु वातिके॥ — *pibet kvāthaṁ tu vātike*" has been accepted in all the published books and in many manuscripts also. However, *khadira vāsā nimba* which are mentioned here are contraindicated in *vātadoṣa*. Therefore the reading of *Soḍhala Nighaṇṭu* is accepted here.

2. In the Candanādi *varga* of the *Dhanvantari Nighaṇṭu* the compound preparation विद्रावण तैलम् (*vidrāvaṇa tailam*) is

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mentioned:

मनःशिला ससिन्दूरं सोराष्ट्री गन्धकद्वयम् ।
ससिक्थकः सर्जरसः कासीसं पुरकुन्दरुः ॥ — *धन्व.नि, आनन्दाश्रम*, पृ० ४

manaḥśilā sasindūraṁ sorāṣṭrī gandhakadvayam ।
sasikthkaḥ sarjarasaḥ kāsīsaṁ purakundaruḥ ॥
— *Dhanva. Ni.* Ānandāśrama, p. 2

मनःशिला ससिन्दूरं सौराष्ट्री गन्धमचिका ।
ससिक्थकः सर्जरसः कासीसं पुरकुन्दरु ॥ — S.D. Kamat, p. c-7

manaḥśilā sasindūraṁ saurāṣṭrī gandhamācikā ।
sasikthkaḥ sarjarasaḥ kāsīsaṁ purakundaru ॥
— S.D. Kamat, p. 2

In the place of गन्धकद्वयम् (*gandhakadvayam*) Author has accepted the reading गन्धमाचिका (*gandhamācikā*).

In the critical apparatus of the Anandashrama edition गन्ध मारिका (*gandhamārikā*) is mentioned as a different reading. In the *Soḍhala Nighaṇṭu* the accepted reading is गन्धकोमची (*gandhakomacī*). Because in the पर्यायनाम (*paryāyanāma*) part of the *Dhanvantari Nighaṇṭu* after the description of *gandhakadvayam*, माचिका (*mācikā*) is separately mentioned.

Therefore, in sura bharati edition the author has accepted the correct reading of the *Dhanvantari Nighaṇṭu* गन्धमाचिका (*gandhamācikā*). Both the readings गन्धमारिका (*gandhamārikā*) and गन्धकोमची (*gandhakomacī*) appear to be scribal errors.

With this much of introduction I hope, you will appreciate the importance of the subject "manuscriptology and textual criticism" for Āyurvedic texts students and scholars of Ayurned will Texts. But, before going to the present concepts of critical edition and textual criticism the traditional system of editing Āyurvedic texts has to be understood. For this we have to understand the traditional system of education of India.

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From Oral Tradition to Writing

Although, the art of writing was known to India before the period of Gautama Buddha the evidence of writing texts is not available because of the existence of oral tradition of transmission of text. The Vedic literature of Hindus was preserved with a greater purity than any other literature. The hymns of *Ṛgveda* have remained almost unaltered word for word, accent for accent, during the last many thousand years. Committing Vedas to writing was not a practice of those days.

वेदविक्रयिणश्चैव वेदानां चैव दूषकाः ।
वेदानां लेखकाश्चैव ते वै निरयगामिनः ॥

vedavikrayiṇaścaiva vedānāṁ caiva dūṣakāḥ ।
vedānāṁ lekhakāścaiva te vai nirayagāminaḥ ॥

The sellers of Vedas, misinterpreters of Vedas and the writers of Vedas, all go to the path of hell.

Traditional System of Learning of Āyurveda

Āyurveda being an Upaveda of Veda, oral tranmission of the text was in prevalence. This required tremendous efforts of memory. In the *Suśruta Saṁhitā*, the method of teaching is —mentioned

अध्ययनकाले शिष्याय यथाशक्ति गुरुरुपदिशेत् पदं पादं श्लोकं वा । ते च पदपाद श्लोकाः भूयः क्रमेणानुसंधेयाः। एवमेकैकशो घटयेदात्मना चानुपठेत्। अद्रुतमविलम्बितम-विशङ्कितंमननुनासिकंमसुव्यक्ताक्षरमक्षिपीडितवर्णर-क्षिभ्रुवौष्ठहस्तैःर्नानभिनीतं, सुसंस्कृतं, नात्युच्चैतिनीचैश्च स्वरैः पठेत्।

—सुसू ३.५४

adhyayanakāle śiṣyāya yathāśakti gururupadiśet padaṁ pādaṁ ślokaṁ vā । te ca padapādaślokāḥ bhūyaḥ krameṇānusaṁdheyāḥ । evamekaikaśo ghaṭayedātmanā cānupaṭhet । adrutaṁ-avilambitaṁ-aviśaṁkitaṁananunāsikaṁ suvyaktākṣaram-apīḍitavarṇam, akṣibhruvauṣṭhahastairnabhinītaṁ susaṁskṛtaṁ nātyuccai, tinīcaiśca svaraiḥ paṭhet ।

—3.54

It appears that much attention was given to increase the memory. Because according to them the intellectual functions like मेधा (*medhā*), बुद्धि (*buddhi*), प्रज्ञा (*prajñā*) are interdependent with स्मृति (*smṛti*). As we

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know memory is of three kinds: short-term memory, intermediate long-term memory and long-term memory. It is said that during the establishment of long-term memory, the structural capability of synapses to transmit signals also increases. Short-term memory if activated repeatedly will initiate chemical, physical and anatomical changes in the synapses that are responsible for long-term type of memory.

The Change from Oral Tradition to Writing

We have discussed to some extent about the oral tradition of learning. But, later on, especially in Buddhist period there appeared a fear that a given *sutta* (discourses) of the Buddha will be lost forever. As the generations passed it became a necessity to preserve the teachings of the Buddha. Divisions arose among Buddhists and Jainas. Their accounts were varied and versions were different. These were resolved and settled in the councils and were engraved on sheets of metal. The Vedic tradition of transmission of text was not changed but, it appears some exception might have been made to technical literature like medicine, and astronomy. The necessity was further felt with the collapse of Hindu kingdoms before the armies of Mohammedan invaders.

Textual Criticism in Āyurvedic Texts

Before understanding the present system of textual criticism we have to understand the system followed in Āyurvedic texts. Glimpses of this can be found in certain quotations from the commentaries of the texts. The *Kāśmīrapāṭha of Caraka Saṁhitā* has got different readings. Certain original text of the *Caraka Saṁhitā* might have been lost and was completed by Dṛḍhabala (fourth century CE).

अस्मिन् सप्तदशाध्यायाः कल्पाः सिद्ध्य एव च ।
नासाद्यन्तेऽग्निवेशस्य तन्त्रे चरकसंस्कृते ॥२८९॥
तानेतान् कापिलबलिः शेषान् दृढबलोऽकरोत् ।
तन्त्रस्यास्य महार्थस्य पूरणार्थं यतातथम् ॥२९०॥ — च०चि० ३०

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asmin saptadaśādhyāyāḥ kalpāḥ siddhya eva ca ।
nāsādyante 'gniveśasya tantre carakasaṁskṛte ॥289॥
tānetān kāpilabaliḥ śeṣān dṛḍhabalo 'karot ।
tantrasyāsya mahārthasya pūrṇārthaṁ yatātatham ॥290॥
— Ca.Ci 30

Similarly, commentator Ḍalhaṇa of the *Suśruta Saṁhitā* mentions that this Saṁhitā is also revised. The author and commentator Candraṭa (tenth century CE) has also done some पाठशुद्धि (*pāṭhaśuddhi*) of the *Suśruta Saṁhitā*.

चिकित्साकलिका व्याख्या योगरत्नसमुच्चयम् ।
सुश्रुते पाठशुद्धिं च तृतीयां चन्द्रटो व्यधात् ॥ — चि० कलिका

cikitsākalikā vyākhyā yogaratnasamuccayam ।
suśrute pāṭhaśuddhiṁ ca tṛtīyāṁ candraṭo vyadhāt ॥ — Ci. Kalikā

पाठशुद्धिः कृता तेन टीकामालोक्य जैज्जटीम् । — चि० कलिका ।

pāṭhaśuddhiḥ kṛtā tena ṭīkāmālokya jaijjaṭīm । — Ci. Kalikā

While understanding the method of textual criticism in Āyurveda Ḍalhaṇa's contribution is to be remembered. His period was in the last quarter of the twelfth century. He had studied in a particular tradition probably with Bhāskara *vaidya* of Yādava rulers. He had collected about forty-five classical texts and twenty-one commentaries. It appears from Ḍalhaṇa's commentary that there were different traditions. Commentators blonging to different traditions held up their respective versions and have presented commentaries on that basis. While presenting his interpretation Ḍalhaṇa discusses these versions. The great labour involved in such a gigantic work may be imagined well. In the Sūtrasthāna alone he discusses about 824 different readings. His approach towards the readings is in short:

1. Does not accept the reading.
2. Accepts the reading with remarks.
3. Accepts with reservation.
4. Accepts without reservation.

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5. Doubtfully accepts.
6. Clearly does not accept.
7. Reading is the same but according to others the meaning is different.
8. Full different reading is not available.

Here it will be proper to mention one example. In the *Uttara Tantra* chapter 39 called as ज्वरप्रतिषेध (*jvarapratiṣedha*) where the diagnosis and treatment of various सन्निपातज्वर (*sannipātajvara*) are mentioned.

निद्रोपेतमभिन्यासं क्षीणमेनं हतौजसम् ।
संन्यस्तगात्रं संन्यासं विद्यात्सर्वात्मके ज्वरे ॥ — सु०उ० ३९-४२
nidropetamabhinyāsaṁ kṣīṇamenaṁ hataujasam ।
saṁnyastagātraṁ saṁnyāsaṁ vidyātsarvātmake jvare ॥
— *Sushrut. Uttaratantra*. 39-42

Commenting on अभिन्यास (*abhinyāsa*), हतौजस (*hataujasa*) and संन्यास (*saṁnyāsa*) types of सन्निपातज्वर (*sannipātajvara*), Dalhaṇa comments:

१. केचिदमुं अभिन्यास प्रतिपादकं वाक्यं न पठन्ति ।
kecidamuṁ abhinyāsa pratipādakaṁ vākyaṁ na paṭhanti ।

२. निद्रोपेतमभिन्यासमित्यादि पाठस्याग्रे "प्रलिम्पन्निव गात्राणि पर्वणां गौरवेण च" इत्यादिना "मन्दज्वर प्रलापस्तु स शीतः स्यत् प्रलेपकः" इत्यन्तेन अपरपाठोक्तेन प्रलेपक लक्षणं पठन्ति तच्च न पठनीयम्। "तथा प्रलेपको ज्ञेयः" इत्यादि पाठेन स्वतन्त्रे तस्य पठितत्वात् ।
nidropetamabhinyāsamityādi pāṭhasyāgre "pralimpanniva gātrāṇi parvaṇāṁ gauraveṇa ca" ityādinā " mandajvara pralāpastu sa śītaḥ syat parlepakaḥ" ityantena aparapāṭhoktena pralepaka lakṣaṇaṁ paṭhanti tacca na paṭhanīyam। "tathā pralepako jñeyaḥ" ityādi pāṭhena svatantre tasya paṭhitatvāt।

३. "नित्यं मन्दज्वर" इत्यादिना क्षारपाणि प्रोक्तं वातबलासक लक्षणम् अपरे पठन्ति तदपि न पठनीयम् ।
"नित्यं मन्दज्वर" इत्यादि पाठस्याग्रे "पुष्पेभ्यो गन्धरजसि . . . . तृणपुष्पकमित्येवं ज्वरं विद्यात् विचक्षणः" इति तच्च औषधिगन्धजे ज्वरे तथा औपत्यके च अन्तर्भूतत्वात् न अध्येयमिति ।

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"nityaṁ mandajvara" ityādinā kṣārapāṇi proktaṁ vātabalāsaka lakṣaṇam apare paṭhanti tadapi na paṭhanīyam।

"nityaṁ mandajvara" ityādi pāṭhasyāgre "puṣpebhyo gandharajasi . . . . tṛṇapuṣpakamityevaṁ jvaraṁ vidyāt vicakṣaṇaḥ" iti tacca auṣadhigandhaje jvare tathā aupatyake ca antarbhūtatvāt na adhyeyamiti।

These are the views mentioned and expressed by Āyurvedic physicians of ancient times while critically editing Āyurvedic texts.

Some Aspects of Editing Āyurvedic Texts

We have discussed about the importance of inclusion of the subject manuscriptology and textual criticism for Āyurvedic students in their curriculum. We have also discussed about the discrepancies in the readings of classical texts and medieval texts; traditional system of learning of Āyurveda, the change from oral tradition to writing and the methods of textual criticism adopted by Āyurvedists.

Now let us see what are the aspects, methods, rules, etc. followed at the present time for textual criticism. This is as per the principles mentioned by Caraka.

न चैव ह्यस्ति सुतरमायुर्वेदस्य पारं, तस्मादप्रमत्तः शश्वदभियोगमस्मिन् गच्छेत्, एतच्च कार्यम्, एवंभूयश्च वृत्तसौष्ठवमनसूयता, परेभ्योऽप्यागमयितव्यं; कृत्स्नो हि लोको बुद्धिमतामाचार्यः शत्रुश्चाबुद्धिमताम्। अतश्चाभिसमीक्ष्य बुद्धिमताऽमित्रस्यापि धन्यं, यशस्यमायुष्यं, पौष्टिकं, लौक्यमभ्युपदिशतो वचः श्रोतव्यमनुविधातव्यं चेति । — च० वि० ८.१४

na caiva hyasti sutaramāyurvedasya pāraṁ, tasmādapramattaḥ śaśvadabhiyogamasmin gacchet, etacca kāryam, evaṁbhūyaśca vṛttasauṣṭhavamanasūyatā, parebhyo 'pyāgamayitavyaṁ; kṛtsno hi loko buddhimatāmācāryaḥ śatruścābuddhimatām। ataścābhisamīkṣya buddhimatā 'mitrasyāpi dhanyaṁ, yaśasyamāyuṣyaṁ, pauṣṭikaṁ, laukyamabhyupadiśato vacaḥ śrotavyamanuvidhātavyaṁ ceti। — *Charak. Vi.* 8.14

Dṛḍhabala on the same basis has reconstructed the *Caraka Saṁhitā* (certain portion) and completed it. He has clearly mentioned this:

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अस्मिन् सप्तदशाध्यायाः कल्पाः सिद्ध्य एव च ।
नासाद्यन्तेऽग्निवेशस्य तन्त्रे चरकसंस्कृते ॥२८९॥
तानेतान् कापिलबलिः शेषान् दृढबलोऽकरोत्
तन्त्रस्यास्य महार्थस्य पूरणार्थं यतातथम् ॥२९०॥ — च० चि० ३०

asmin saptadaśādhyāyāḥ kalpāḥ siddhya eva ca ।
nāsādyante 'gniveśasya tantre carakasaṁskṛte ॥289॥
tānetān kāpilabaliḥ śeṣān dṛḍhabalo 'karot ।
tantrasyāsya mahārthasya pūraṇārthaṁ yatātatham ॥290॥
— *Ca. Ci.* 30

We are not going to discuss about the evolution of scripts, writing material, etc. However, we generally come across the Āyurvedic manuscripts written on *tāḍapatra*, paper or sometimes on *bhūrjapatra*. Important scripts in which Āyurvedic manuscripts are found are.

1. *Devanāgarī* — Most of the Sanskrit MSS of Ayurveda appear to be written in Devanāgarī script. Nāgarī is its variety.
2. *Grantha* — It was used to write Sanskrit MSS especially in Tamil Nadu, Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka.
3. *Kannada* — In Karnataka.
4. *Maithilī* — In east Bihar and Bengal.
5. *Malayalam* — Confined to Kerala.
6. *Modī* — This was not used to write Sanskrit MSS, it was used to write documents and correspondences. It was said to be invented or introduced by Hemādri, the famous commentator of the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya*.
7. *Nandīnagarī* — There are many MSS in western Karnataka.
8. *Nepālī or Newārī* — It is current in Nepal and in adjoining areas. There are many Āyurvedic MSS in this script.
9. *Oriyā* — It is current in Odisha and related to Bengal.
10. *Śāradā* — It was current in Jammu & Kashmir and in north-east Punjab.
11. *Sinhalese* — This is prevalent in Sri Lanka. There are MSS

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of Āyurveda in this script. The *Sarasvatī Nighaṇṭu* and the *Śiddhauṣadhi Nighaṇṭu* were published in this script in nineteenth century.

12. *Telugu* — This script is used in Andhra Pradesh and there are many Āyurvedic MSS in this script.

13. *Tibetan* — It is current in Tibet. The famous and first commentary the *Padārthacandrikā* on the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya* was translated into Tibet. It is yet to be published completely in Sanskrit.

14. *Taglari* — This was mostly found in coastal Karnataka. *Tulu* is its variety.

15. *Vaṅga* or *Bengali* — It is current in Bengal.

For a critical edition you have to collect and decipher all the available manuscripts and other evidences in support of the text. It is not possible for a single scholar to learn all the scripts and their older forms. Each manuscript has its own peculiarity and each scribe has his own idiosyncracies. Therefore, a team should be formed of scholars of Āyurveda, Sanskrit and able scholars of different scripts. This work ought to have been undertaken by the Central Council for Research for Resarch in Ayurvedic Sciences (CCRAS), which appears to have halted for some reason.

Textual Criticism

Before discussing our topic of textual criticism we have to skip some other important topics like kinds of texts, scribes, methods of writing texts, scribal errors, causes of corruption of the texts and causes of loss of the manuscripts.

Textual criticism is a skilled and methodical exercise of human intellect on the settlement of text with an object of restoring it to its original form. Original form means the form intended by the author.

Criticism consists of two parts: (a) lower criticism, and (b) higher criticism.

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LOWER CRITICISM

Lower criticism consists of:

- Heuristics or assembling and arranging the manuscripts in the form of genealogical tree or pedigree.
- Recension — most plausible elements from the various sources.
- Emendation — in this process one denies the evidence of manuscripts and arrive at author's form.

HIGHER CRITICISM

Here the separation of the sources is done, utilized by the author.

Collation — The evidence of extant manuscripts is recorded by collation. Collation means to record everything in the manuscript. The evidence from non-extant manuscripts may also be recorded if available, e.g. in the *Nighaṇṭu Śiromaṇi* all the synonyms and properties are recorded with the names of respective *nighaṇṭus*.

In case of a versified text a single stanza may be taken as a unit and some good manuscript is taken as a standard and is written syllable by syllable in a properly divided squares on a single sheet of paper.

The different syllables may be written in respective squares reserved for that manuscript (bearing a name of that manuscript, i.e. sigla) on the basis of collation, genealogical relationship of manuscripts can be understood.

The second process is the process of interpretation. In this the evidence of MSS is used to settle the text to the oldest possible form.

The third process is to arrive at the text of the author. In this process one may get behind the written evidence of the manuscripts. It is possible because there is the support of classical texts (*bṛhat-trayī*).

The evidence from the commentators is sometimes very useful. Hemādri in his commentary has quoted most of the passages from the *Aṣṭāṅga Saṁgraha*. One can use it for critically editing the text

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of the *Aṣṭāṅga Saṁgraha*.

The last stage is the separation of the sources utilized by the author. This is not usually mentioned by the author and becomes difficult but sometimes the author mentions it, e.g. author Mudgala Bhaṭa of the *Dravyaratnākara Nighaṇṭu* has mentioned the sources he has utilized.

हारीतादग्निवेशादमर चरकतो वाग्भटद्वन्द्व भेडात्
धन्वन्तर्यात्रि दामोदर खरणशिवाद्वोपदेवात् गृहीत्वा ।
वक्ष्येऽहं मन्दबुद्धिर्ललित पदयुतैर्विश्ववर्गैरमोघैः
तत्सारं द्रव्यरत्नाकरममृतसमं वैद्यवर्गोपयुक्तम् ॥१३॥
— द्र० र० प्रास्ताविकम्

hārītādagniveśādamara carakato vāgbhaṭadvandva bheḍāt ।
dhanvantaryātri dāmodara kharaṇaśivādbopadevāt gṛhītvā ॥
vakṣye 'haṁ mandabuddhirlalita padayutairviśvavargairamoghaiḥ
tatsāraṁ dravyaratnākaramamṛtasamaṁ vaidyavargopayuktam ॥
—*Dra. Ra.* (unpublished)

It is to be remembered that sometimes many other sources might have been utilized also by the author. Author Mudgala Bhaṭa has borrowed copiously from the *Rājanighaṇṭu* also. The readings from printed books of the *Rājanighaṇṭu* are useful for finding the correct readings of the *Dravyaratnākara Nighaṇṭu*.

Genealogical Relationship of the Manuscripts

The usual tests to decide genealogical relationship between the MSS are:

1. Omission of words and passages is the surest test of affinity.
2. Agreement in a number of peculiar readings or in other pecularities.

Critical Recension

If there are many manuscripts available, then those MSS having a common ancestor can be avoided for recension. This becomes possible on the basis of collation. This is important when there are many MSS of a single title. There are more than 125 MSS of the

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Dhanvantari Nighaṇṭu. While editing this *nighaṇṭu*, those MSS which have only different ancestors can be taken for critical recension. Suppose there are eight MSS of the above title as A, B, C, D, E, F, G and H. Out of these A MS is found to have different readings and peculiarities than B, and C, D, E, F, G and H have the same readings and peculiarities of those of B; then A and B should be taken for recension (and avoided C, D, E, F, G and H).

The process of emendation is already discussed; on the basis of which one can decide the text of the author.

Some Practical Hints

1. Collection of Āyurvedic manuscripts — if one has decided to critically edit a text (or a published book) one has to collect all the manuscripts available from various libraries, repositories and private collections. Various catalogues of Āyurvedic manuscripts are also published. CCRAS has published a catalogue of Sanskrit medical manuscripts. Dr Meulenbeld has published *A History of Indian Medical Literature*. In Vienna a critical work of the *Caraka Saṁhitā* is going on. They have mentioned the various institutes where the Āyurvedic MSS could be available. New *Catalogus Catalogorum* can also be searched for Āyurvedic manuscripts.

   It is to be noted that sometimes the titles of the manuscript may be misleading.

2. When all the copies of manuscripts are obtained, these should be collated and examined carefully. The editor has to select all the trustworthy manuscripts as his witness to the constitution of the text.

3. From the collation chart and deep study of the manuscripts one can decide the trustworthiness of manuscripts.

4. The introduction must contain the general account of the MS and the abbreviated name or siglum should be mentioned. There are various methods of giving a siglum

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depending upon the number of manuscripts and the choice of the author.

5. After emendation the text is constituted and all important deviations are to be noted in the critical apparatus. This facilitates to every critical reader the opportunity to correct the constituted text.

   Some prefer to present the critical apparatus immediately on the same page. The constituted text occupies the upper half of the page and the critical apparatus occupies the lower half of the page.

   Some prefer to give it at the end of the chapter or at the end of the volume.

6. Short interpolations may be mentioned in the *textus apparatus* and long interpolations may be included in a separate appendix.

7. Index of all the words should be mentioned separately.

It is said and advised that once one knows the general principles of manuscriptology, the work is said to be studied and learned by doing and not by reading.

New technology and software are available nowadays. This is to be learned for speedy and efficient work.

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आधुनिक मराठी संहिता चिकित्सा, मराठी संशोधन मंडळ, १९७५ ।

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7

The Dravyanāmākara Nighaṇṭu of Bhisma Vaidya

An Unpublished Lexicographical Work on Medicinal Plants

S.D Kamat

THE *Dravyanāmākara Nighaṇṭu* is a lexicographical work of homonyms of medicinal plants. It is a work on *dravya-guṇa* subject of Āyurveda. It was composed by Bhīṣma Vaidya, son of Murārī. The work was probably composed in the fourteenth or early part of fifteenth century CE. It was composed as an appendix to the *Dhanvantari Nighaṇṭu*.

What Are Nighaṇṭus?

It was customary to identify substances by similar terms or synonyms. But some of the characters may also overlap on other substances. Therefore it was necessary to explain the differences by explanatory notes. Such a necessity appears to have arisen right from the time of Vedic period.

अर्को देवो भवति यदेनमर्चयन्ति ।
अर्को मन्त्रो भवति यदनेन अर्चन्ति ।
अर्कमन्नं भवति अर्चति भूतानि ।
अर्को वृक्षो भवति संवृतः कटुकिम्ना ।

arko devo bhavati yadenamarcayanti ।
arko mantro bhavati yadanena arcanti ।
arkamannaṁ bhavati arcati bhūtāni ।
arko vṛkṣo bhavati saṁvṛtaḥ kaṭukimnā ।
– *Nirukta* of Yāska, Nirnay Sagar Press, p. 224

Arka is the name of the sun, who is worshipped. *Arka* is a name of

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a *mantra* which we recite. *Arka* is the name of *anna* (food) which nourishes. *Arka* is a name of a tree which is pubescent.

Thus one word *arka* has many hidden meanings. To explain the hidden meanings of these terms *niruktas* were written: "निगूढान् अर्थान् उच्यन्ते अनेन प्रकारेण तन्निरुक्तम् — *nigūḍhāna arthān ucyante anena prakāreṇa tanniruktam*". There is another term निगम (*nigama*) for निरुक्त (*nirukta*): "निगमान् अर्थान् गमयन्ति ज्ञापयन्ति इति निगमः — *nigamān arthān gamayanti jñāpayanti iti nigamaḥ*". Thus *nigama* and *nirukta* have become synonymous. Further, it is stated that "निगन्तवः कस्मात् निगमा इमे भवन्ति — *nigantavaḥ kasmāt nigamā ime bhavanti*". This term निगन्तवः (*nigantavaḥ*) has become निघण्टवः (*niganṭavaḥ*)। *Vācaspatyam* has mentioned "एकार्थवाचिनां पर्याय शब्दानां सङ्घः यत्र प्रायेणोपदिश्यते तत्र निघण्टु शब्दः प्रसिद्धः — *ekārthavācināṁ paryāya śabdānāṁ saṅghaḥ yatra prāyeṇopadiśyate tatra nighaṇṭu śabdaḥ prasiddhaḥ*.

On the basis of these terms (*nigama, nirukta* and *nigantavaḥ*) lexicons like the *Amarakośa*, the *Medinī*, the *Dharaṇīdhara* and *Vaijayantī*, were composed in the later period. But, these served the general purpose of Sanskrit literature. Āyurvedic *nighaṇṭus* are specialized lexicons mainly giving the knowledge of medicinal plants and drugs. Classical and Medieval Āyurvedic treatises have followed the same method of describing and identifying the substances.[1]

In the introduction to the *Kalpadrukośa of Keshava*, Pt. R. Sharma has defined "Āyurvedic *nighaṇṭus*" in the following words:

These are generally called as *nighaṇṭus* or *nirgranthas* or *nighaṇṭas* and contain usually in synonymous groups, the names of drugs,

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1 १. शरीरेन्द्रिय सत्वात्म संयोगो धारि जीवितम् ।
नित्यगश्चानुबन्धश्च पर्यायैरायुरुच्यते ॥ — च०सू० १.४२

२. निमित्त हेत्वायतन प्रत्ययोत्थान कारणैः ।
निदानमाहुः पर्यायैः . . . . । — अ०हृ०नि० १

३. ज्वरो रोगपतिः पाप्मा मृत्युरोजोंशनान्तकः ।
यक्ष्माऽतङ्क गदाऽबाधाः शब्दाः पर्यायवाचिनः ॥ — अ०हृ०नि० १

४. चिकित्सितं हितं पथ्यं प्रायश्चित्तं भिषग्जितम् ।
भेषजं शमनं शस्तं पर्यायैः स्मृतमौषधम् ॥ — अ०हृ०चि० २२.२४

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plants, animals, minerals and in short anything that may be administered to the human body either as food or medicine. Some of them also give medical virtues, others do not.[2]

As per this definition some other *nighaṇṭus* (which may not be available at the time of Pt. R. Sharma's introduction) are not included and hence requires some modification. I shall like to modify it as Āyurvedic *nighaṇṭu* is a lexicographic work describing the medical substances by synonymous terms and may be supplemented with properties and actions on human body according to the principles of Āyurvedic pharmacology whether supplemented by daily regimen (*dinacaryā*), seasonal changes in routine, homonyms of the plants and drug names, etc. or not).

These Āyurvedic *nighaṇṭus* are of two types:

1. Synonymous *nighaṇṭus* where only the synonyms are included, e.g. the *Aṣṭāṅga Nighaṇṭu*, the *Siddhasāra Nighaṇṭu*, the *Abhidhānaratnamālā*, etc.

2. Āyurvedic *nighaṇṭus* where along with synonyms the properties and actions of drugs are also mentioned as the *Madanapāla Nighaṇṭu, the Kaiyadeva Nighaṇṭu, the Rāja Nighaṇṭu* and the *Bhāvaprakāśa Nighaṇṭu*.

It is mentioned earlier that synonyms are used for the identification of substances like medicinal plants. But, sometimes synonymous[3] terms are applicable to more than one plant or drug. To include these types of terms having the same pronunciation but having different meanings or suggestive of different plants or drugs a separate chapter of homonyms was included. Such *nighaṇṭus* are the *Soḍhala Nighaṇṭu*, the *Rāja Nighaṇṭu*, the *Dravyaratnākara Nighaṇṭu*, etc. the *Śivakośa* of the Śivadatta Miśra of seventeenth century deals fully with homonyms of plants and drugs only.

Importance of the Study of Homonymous Lexicon

2 Introduction to *Kalpadrukośa*, p. xix.

3 एकं तुनाम प्रथितं बहूनामेकस्य नामानि तथा बहूनि ।
द्रव्यस्य जात्याकृतिवर्ण वीर्य रसप्रभावादि गुणैर्भवन्ति ।। — ध०नि० (प्रास्ताविकम्)

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It can be observed that some characters of one plant may overlap on the name of other plant also. This can be examined by an example:

In the Tryārtha Varga of the *Dravyanāmākara Nighaṇṭu* stanza 109 the homonyms *latā* and *surabhi* are mentioned:

लता ज्योतिष्मती ख्याता प्रियङ्गुः सारिवा लता ।
सुरभिः शल्लकी प्रोक्ता मुरा चैवेलवालुकम् ॥ — द्र०ना० १०९

latā jyotiṣmatī khyātā priyaṅguḥ sārivā latā ।
surabhiḥ śallakī proktā murā caivelavālukam ॥—Dra. Nā. 109

Here the homonym *latā* is applied to (1) ज्योतिष्मती (*jyotiṣmatī*), (2) प्रियङ्गुः (*priyaṅgu*), and (3) सारिवा (*sārivā*) and the homonym *surabhiḥ* is applied to (1) शल्लकी (*śallakī*), (2) मुरा (*murā*), and (3) एलवालुकम् (*elavālukam*).

If we see the synonyms of these two (homonyms), we find that these are mentioned for different plants:

१. सारिवा शारदा गोपा गोपवल्ली प्रतानिका ।
गोपकन्या लताऽस्फोता . . . . । — ध०नि०का०, पृ० ५९

sārivā śāradā gopā gopavallī pratānikā ।
gopakanyā latā 'sphotā . . . . ॥ — Dha. Ni. Kā., p. 59

२. ज्योतिष्मती स्वर्णलताऽनलप्रभा ज्योतिर्लता सा कटभी सपिङ्गला ।
— ध०नि०आ०, पृ० ६१

jyotiṣmatī svarṇalatā 'nalaprabhā jyotirlatā sā kaṭabhī sapiṅgalā ।
— Dha. Ni. Ā., p. 61

३. प्रियङ्गुः फलिनी कान्ता प्रियाह्वा वनिता लता ॥ — कै०नि०, पृ० २५२

priyaṅguḥ phalinī kāntā priyāhhvā vanitā latā ॥
— Kai. Ni., p. 252

All the three plants *jyotiṣmatī*, *priyaṅguḥ* and *sārivā* mentioned here possess the common character latā (i.e. twiner). In case of surabhi we find:

१. सल्लकी वल्लकी ल्हादा सुरभिः सुस्रवा च सा ।
अश्वमूत्री कुन्दुरुकी गजभक्ष्या महेरणा ॥१३५॥ — ध०नि०आ०, पृ० १२१

sallakī vallakī lhādā surabhih susravā ca sā ।
aśvamūtrī kundurukī gajabhakṣyā maheraṇā ॥135॥
— Dha. Ni. Ā., p. 121

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२. मुरा गन्धवती दैत्या गन्धाढ्या गन्धमालिनी ।
सुरभिर्भूरिगन्धा च कुटी गन्धकुटी स्मृता ॥६७॥ — ध०नि०आ०, पृ० १०९

murā gandhavatī daityā gandhāḍhyā gandhamālinī ।
surabhirbhūrigandhā ca kuṭī gandhakuṭī smṛta ॥67॥
— *Dha. Ni. Ā.*, p. 121

३. एल्वालुकं कपित्थं च दुर्वर्णं प्रसरं दृढम् ।
एलागन्धिकमेलाह्वं गुप्तगन्धि सुगन्धिकम् ॥ — ध०नि०आ०, पृ० १११

elvālukaṁ kapitthaṁ ca durvarṇaṁ prasaraṁ dṛḍham ।
elāgandhikamelāhvaṁ guptagandhi sugandhikam ॥
— *Dha. Ni. Ā.*, p. 111

In all the above-mentioned synonyms of plants सौरभ्य (*saurabhya*) or सौगन्ध्य (*saugandhya*) is the common character. Thus, we find overlapping of characters in different plants. This has a practical implication in the treatment of various diseases, especially in case of compound preparations:

पाठा जम्ब्वाम्रयोर्मध्यं शिलोद्भेदं रसाञ्जनम् ।
अम्बष्ठा शाल्मलीश्लेषं समङ्गां वत्सकत्वचम् ॥
बाल्हीकातिविषे बिल्वं मुस्तं लोध्रं सगैरिकम् ।
कट्वङ्ग वत्सकानन्ता धातकी मधुकार्जुनम् ॥
पुष्येणोद्धृत्य..... । — च०चि० ३०.९०-९२

pāṭhā jambvāmrayormadhyaṁ śilobhedaṁ rasāñjanam ।
ambaṣṭhā śālmalīśleṣaṁ samaṅgāṁ vatsakatvacam ॥
bālhīkātiviṣe bilvaṁ mustaṁ lodhraṁ sagairikam ।
kaṭvaṅga vatsakānantā dhātaki madhukārjunam ॥
puṣyeṇoddhṛtya . . . . . । — *Ca. Ci.*, 30.90-92

Here, there are three-four plant names which can be considered as homonyms: अम्बष्ठा (*ambaṣṭhā*), समङ्गा (*samaṅgā*), बाल्हीक (*bālhīka*) and अनन्ता (*anantā*).

अम्बष्ठा माचिका पाठा चाङ्गेरी यूथिकासु च। — शिवकोश, पृ० १४
ambaṣṭhā mācikā pāṭhā cāṅgerī yūthikāsu ca । — *Śivakośa*, p. 14

The homonym *ambaṣṭhā* (अम्बष्ठा) has following meanings: (1) पाठा (*pāṭhā*), (2) माचिका (*mācikā*), (3) चाङ्गेरी (*cāṅgerī*), and (4) यूथिका (*yūthikā*).

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समङ्गा रक्तपादायां बला मञ्जिष्ठयोरपि । — शिवकोश, पृ० ९
samaṅgā raktapādāyāṁ balā mañjiṣṭhayorapi । — *Śivakośa*, p. 9

The homonym समङ्गा (*samaṅgā*) has three meanings: (1) रक्तपादी (*raktapādī*), (2) बला (*balā*), and (3) मञ्जिष्ठा (*mañjiṣṭhā*).

बाल्हिका बाल्हिके धान्ये क्लीबे हिङ्गुनि कुङ्कुमे । — शिवकोश, पृ० ९
bālhikā bālhike dhānye klībe hiṅguni kuṁkume । — *Śivakośa*, p. 9

The homonym बाल्हीकम् (*bālhīkam*) has meanings like हिङ्गु (*hiṅgu*) and कुङ्कुमम् (*kuṁkumam*).

... ... अनन्ता दूर्वा पथ्या कणासु च
दन्ती दुरालभा धात्री छिन्ना कर्पासिकास्वपि ।
विशल्यायां च गोप्यां च ... ... ॥ — शिवकोश, पृ० १८
. . . . *anantā dūrvā pathyā kaṇāsu ca*
dantī durālabhā dhātrī chinnā karpāsikāsvapi ।
viśalyāyāṁ ca gopyāṁ ca . . . . ॥ — *Śivakośa*, p. 18

The homonym अनन्ता (*anantā*) has the meanings like दूर्वा (*dūrvā*), दुरालभा (*durālabhā*), विशल्या (*viśalyā*) and गोपी (*gopī*).

The pharmacological properties of the various plants mentioned in the homonyms widely differ and the selection of a proper drug according to the context is very important. The knowledge of the various plants can be achieved by the study of homonymous lexicon only. Therefore the study of homonymous lexicon is very important to Āyurvedic physicians.

One of the oldest *nighaṇṭus* of Āyurvedic literature is the *Dhanvantari Nighaṇṭu*. This *nighaṇṭu* does not mention the chapter on homonyms. The teachers who were teaching this *nighaṇṭu* might have felt this deficiency and one Bhīṣma Vaidya composed this the *Dravyanāmākara Nighaṇṭu* as an appendix to the *Dhanvantari Nighaṇṭu*.

निघण्टोरुत्तरं वक्ष्ये द्रव्याण्यत्राश्रितानि च ।
एकार्थ द्व्यर्थ त्र्यर्थानि नानार्थानि तथैव च ॥
nighaṇṭoruttaraṁ vakṣye dravyāṇyatrāśritāni ca ।
ekārtha dvayartha tryarthāni nānārthāni tathaiva ca ॥

Again at the end the author clearly mentions:

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इति धन्वन्तरीय निघण्टे नानार्थाः ।
iti dhanvantarīya nighaṇṭe nānārthāḥ ।

This *nighaṇṭu* is composed in a versified form. It is not mentioned in *Āyurveda kā Vaijñānika Itihāsa*[4] by Priyavrata Sharma. However, it appears in the catalogue of Sanskrit medical manuscripts published by CCRS (obviously not available to Prof. Sharma). This versified form of the *Dravyanāmākara Nighaṇṭu* (homonymous *nighaṇṭu*) does not appear to be published yet.

In the published edition of the *Dhanvantari Nighaṇṭu* by Anandashrama Saṁsthā, Pune (1925 edn) there appears a chapter of homonyms included in a prose form. However, the beginning is in a verse form there also.

निघण्टोरुत्तरं वक्ष्ये द्रव्याण्यत्राश्रितानि च ।
एकार्थं द्व्यर्थं त्र्यर्थानि नानार्थानि तथैव च ॥

nighaṇṭoruttaraṁ vakṣye dravyāṇyatrāśritāni ca ।
ekārtha dvayartha tryarthāni nānārthāni tathaiva ca ॥

Again, in the last Nānārthādi Varga there appear 6-7 stanzas (verse form) of homonyms (there appear few lacunae also). These verses correspond with those of the *Dravyanāmākara Nighaṇṭu*. The homonyms mentioned in prose version of Ekārthādi Varga of the *Dhanvantari Nighaṇṭu* also correspond with those of the *Dravyanāmākara Nighaṇṭu* considerably.

This suggests that the original text had been composed in a verse form only. But after a lapse of time the original versified form might have been lost to a great extent or might have become so corrupt that some scholar might have collected the homonyms from different available sources (verse form) and mentioned them together into a prose form.

Source Material

The MS mentioned here is noted in the *Catalogue of Sanskrit Medical Manuscripts in India*, published by CCRAS (2005). The description as appears in the catalogue (p. 125):

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4 *Āyurveda kā Vaijñānika Itihāsa*, 8th repr., pp. 438, 1975.

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Author: Bhīṣmaputra (it means son of Bhīṣma). This is evidently incorrect as the reading in MS is *bhīṣmākhyastasya putro*. Here *tasya* means Lallukasya (see colophon).

Script: Devanāgarī.

Library: GJRI (Ganganath Jha Research Institute), vol. 1, part II, Allahabad, Acc. no. 119/7. Photocopy of the above MS shows:

Folios: 10 (pages 19). Letters per line – 39.

Name of the scribe: Raṅgade(va). In the upper part of the left margin the name of the book *Ni.U.* (नि०उ०) and the folio no. is written. Interlinear and marginal gloss appears on the first few pages.

Period of MS: Saṁvat 1881 (1824 CE).

Beginning:

ॐ श्री गणेशाय नमः ।
निघण्टो उत्तरं वक्ष्ये द्रव्यान्यत्राश्रितानि च ।
एकार्थ द्व्यर्थ त्र्यर्थानि नानार्थानि तथैव च ॥
अथैकार्थानि वक्ष्यामः ।

oṁ śrī gaṇeśāya namaḥ
nighaṇṭo uttaraṁ vakṣye dravyānyatrāśritāni ca ।
ekārtha dvayartha tryarthāni nānārthāni tathaiva ca ॥
athaikārthāni vakṣyāmaḥ ।

Ends:

इति धन्वन्तरीय निघण्टे नानार्थाः ।
वंशे साधारणस्य प्रकटगुणगणाः सर्वशास्त्रार्थ वेता ।
विप्रो लल्लूकनाम्ना गुणनिकरकरस्यात्मजो वै मुरारेः ।
भीष्माख्यस्तस्य पुत्रो हरिहरचरणाराधनैकाग्रचित्तो ।
ग्रन्थस्तेनाभिरामो विरचित इति वै द्रव्यनामाकराख्यः ॥१॥

द्रव्यनामाकरराख्योऽसौ निघण्टः कथितो मया ।
सप्तद्वीपा धरा यावत्तावत्तिष्ठतु भूतले ॥२॥

इति श्री द्रव्यनामाक्राख्यो निघण्टः समाप्तिमगमत् ।
लिखितेयं लिपिरंगदेन । शुभमस्तु सं० १८८१ माघे कृष्णत्रयोदश्यां चन्द्रे ।

iti dhanvantarīya nighaṇṭe nānārthāḥ ।
vaṁśe sādhāraṇasya prakaṭaguṇagaṇāḥ sarvaśāstrārtha vetā ।
vipro lallukanāmnā guṇanikarakarasyātmajo vai murāreḥ ।

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bhīṣmākhyastasya putro hariharacaraṇārādhanaikāgracitto ।
granthastenābhirāmo viracita iti vai dravyanāmākarākhyaḥ ॥1॥

dravyanāmākararākhyo 'sau nighaṇṭaḥ kathito mayā ।
saptadvīpā dharā yāvattāvattiṣṭhatu bhūtale ॥2॥

iti śrī dravyanāmākarākhyo ṅghaṇṭaḥ samāptimagamat ।
likhiteyaṁ lipiraṅgadena । *śubhamastu saṁ. 1881 māghe*
kṛṣṇatrayodaśyāṁ candre ।

As per my knowledge this is an isolated MS in a versified form as an appendix to the *Dhanvantari Nighaṇṭu*. There are many MSS of this (*Dhanvantari*) *nighaṇṭu* spread all over India and also abroad. Some of them are having this portion in a prose form.

I tried to locate another MS of the *Dhanvantari Nighaṇṭu* having such versified form of appendix from the available catalogues.

In the *Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS* of Government Oriental MSS Library Madras, p. 8953, Acc. no. 13294 (and also described under 13190) there is a MS of the the *Dhanvantari Nighaṇṭu* which contains beginning and end in a versified form in Devanagārī script.

Considering the whole chapter of homonyms would be in a versified form I procured a photocopy of this MS but, by actual examination, it was found to be in Telugu script. My friend Dr B. Ramarao (Hyderabad) kindly transliterated it for me into Devanāgarī script. By comparison it was to be in a prose form only.

In the *Descriptive Catalogue Āyurvedic MSS* in the Asiatic Society of Kolkata there is a MS of the *Dhanvantari Nighaṇṭu*, Acc. no. 646, pp. 194-95. It has also mentioned the Ekārtha NānārthaVarga in a prose form. The importance of this MS is that it is scribed in Saṁvat 1586 (1529 CE). This suggests that the period of *Dravyanāmākara Nighaṇṭu* must be earlier to this.

There is an another MS of the title *Dravyaprakāśa* in the abovementioned catalogue sr. no. 143, Acc. no. G. 5106 . The description suggests that it contains the same substance as mentioned in the *Dravyanāmākara Nighaṇṭu* in a prose form. It is mentioned here to show that the title names of the MSS are also sometimes misleading.

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Date and Place of the Author

Author Bhīṣma Vaidya has not mentioned the period in which he has composed this *nighaṇṭu*. He did not mention his place of his residence.

Mudgala Paṇḍit, author of the *Dravyaratnākara Nighaṇṭu* has mentioned that he composed his *nighaṇṭu* in Śaka 1402 (1480 CE). He has borrowed uninterrupted verses from the *Rāja Nighaṇṭu* especially in Kadambādi Varga (17th *varga*). But, he has not borrowed anything from its Nānārthādi Varga. It appears that he has borrowed many homonyms from the *Dravyanāmākara Nighaṇṭu*. Though, the author of the *Dravyanāmākara* has mentioned that it is an appendix to the *Dhanvantari Nighaṇṭu* it appears that he has taken many references of synonyms from the *Rāja Nighaṇṭu*. These synonyms do not appear in the *Dhanvantari Nighaṇṭu*. Therefore, the period of the *Dravyanāmākara* must be between the *Rāja Nighaṇṭu* of Narahari Paṇḍit and the *Dravyaratnākara Nighaṇṭu*[5] of Mudgala Paṇḍit.

The period of *Dravyaratnākara Nighaṇṭu* is in the later part of fifteenth century CE and hence the *Dravyanāmākara Nighaṇṭu* may be placed in the early part of fifteenth century CE.

Contents

The aim of writing this *nighaṇṭu* is to introduce homonyms of medicinal plants (and drugs) of the *Dhanvantari Nighaṇṭu*. It is divided into four *vargas*:

Ekārthādi Varga	:	verses 2-37
Dvayartha Varga	:	verses 38-99
Tryārtha Varga	:	verses 100-150
Nānārtha Varga	:	verses 151-182

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5 An unpublished medical treatise *Dravyaratnākara Nighaṇṭu* by S.D. Kamat, BORI Annals, 2006.

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8

Tribal Heritage and Indigenous Philosophical Wisdom of Odisha

Tradition, Practice and Contribution to Indian Knowledge System

Kishore Kumar Tripathy

Abstract

This paper focuses on philosophical traditions, including theory and practice being maintained by the tribal community of Odisha. They have many religious, philosophical and cultural similarities and together characterize the notion of tribalism. Each tribal community has definite distinct peculiarities of style of life which can be best understood in the paradigm of animism, nature worship, anthropomorphism on the basis of relationship with man, nature and the supernatural. Tribal philosophy of Odisha presents a vision of life, consciousness and perfection based on morality, compassion and unity. Moreover, it represents spiritual ideals, world view and ultimate perfection of life. Philosophy of the tribal community of Odisha contributes an integral form of culture, including tangible and intangible in a significant manner. Following brief assessment of the issues, paper recommends inter-philosophical dialogue for promotion of tribal heritage, tradition, sustainability and future perspectives to establish an identity which will definitely be useful for multicultural, multireligious and multi-philosophical aspects extensively.

Keywords: animism, anthropomorphism, cultural heritage, mythology, nature worship, sustainable development, tangible and intangible culture, tribal philosophy.

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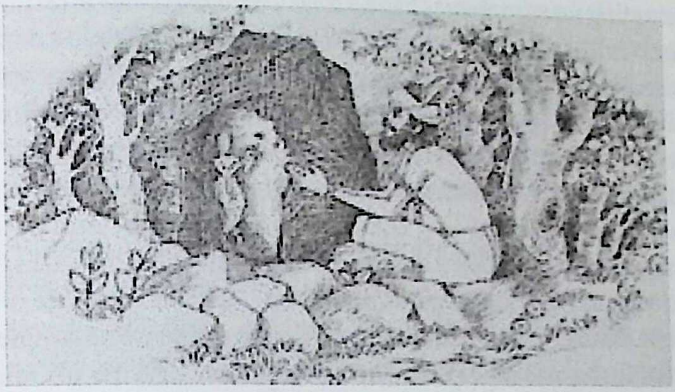
The Background



MOTIVATION to write on the present issue was influenced by two of the innovative ideas. The first one is the legend about Lord Jagannātha, which is basically regarded as the tribal origin. The culture, which was flourished in a tribal form and in the contemporary scenario, has achieved its global spread as a universal religion. The second one is based on my interaction with a tribal man in 2006, who was basically a devotee of Lord Viṣṇu. Once, the fellow was reading something and I asked the question "What are you reading?" With a great pleasure, he replied — *bābū, mui śrīmadbhagavadgītā padhuchi* (I am reading the *Śrīmadbhagavadgītā*). The book was written in Kui language (one of the tribal languages of Odisha) and out of curiosity, I asked "What is there in the *Gītā*?" He explained "*Gītā* speaks about *ātman*, *Paramātman* and the ultimate goal is to achieve *mokṣa* (liberation)." A discussion followed on the mythology and religious beliefs of the tribes of Keoñjhar district of Odisha and I found a possibility to explore the integral knowledge system and traditional practices of the tribal people, and the present research is the outcome of such an investigation.

Tribes of Odisha and Their Cultural Heritage

Odisha (the soul of India) provides a unique contribution to the religious, philosophical, cultural and social significances to

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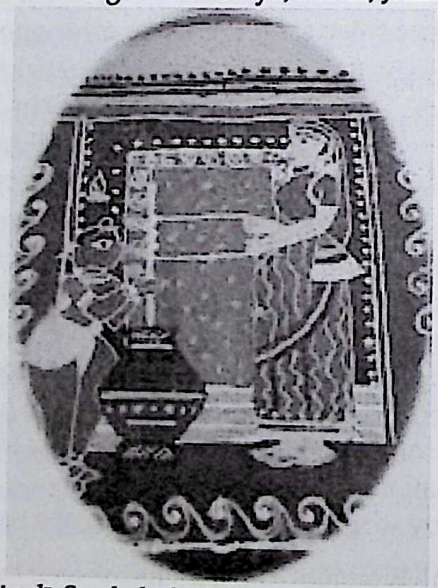
Indian culture.[1] It would be astonishing to mention that the most fascinating feature about Odisha is its unrevealed and unexplored Tribal Cultural Heritage, which includes hilly landscapes, distinct civilizations, lifestyles, indigenous peoples and their practices in a significant manner. A significant part of the population of Odisha constitutes the tribal people, which comes about 23 per cent of the total population. According to statistical documentation, Government of India has notified sixty-two tribal groups and among these endogamous groups different sub-tribes maintain their solidarity in the tribal regions of Odisha. We find existence of the Kondh, Bhuiji, Gond, Santal, Saura, Gadaba, Koya, Paraja, Oraon, Bonda, Juang and other tribes in the respective districts of Odisha, i.e. Keonjhar, Koraput, Kondhamal, Sambalpur, Bolangir, Ganjam, Sundergarh, Mayurbhanj, Balasore, Kalahandi, Nowrangpur, Malkangiri, Gunupur and Dhenkanal. The tribal people of Odisha speak languages of the Indo-Aryan group, Draviḍian group and Austric group including Dhelki Oriya, Matia, Jharia, Saunti, Laria



Raṅgolī: Symbol of tribal worship system

1 Tanuja Mohapatra, 2011, "Tribes of Odisha: Issues of Social Inclusion, Exclusion and Cultural Assimilation", *Bodhi: An Interdisciplinary Journal*, 5: 20.

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and Oriya, Kisan, Bhumiji, Koda, Mirdha-Kharia, Ollar Gadaba, Bondo, Kharia, Munda, Ho and Koya among others.[2] They are engaged in hunting, gathering, fishing, shifting cultivation, cloth making, weaving and toolmaking and other activities. The different tribes of Odisha possess different culture, language, ritual, belief and tradition. Tribal heritage of Odisha also presents interesting facts about rituals and philosophical ideas in a significant manner.

Philosophical History of the Tribes of Odisha: Tradition and Its Continuity

As far as the religious and philosophical account of the tribal community of Odisha is concerned, it is believed that tribal people are the traditional owners and guardians of their holistic knowledge, traditions and cultural values.

To sustain their cultural heritage, they present unique tradition of worship, ritual practices and philosophical ideas, which form an integral part of the lives of the tribal people. Following are some of the philosophical peculiarities of the tribes of Odisha:

- Oral tradition and preservation of the integral knowledge in tribal communities.
- Animism (the doctrine that all natural objects and the universe itself have souls).
- Nature worship (a system of religion that deifies and worships natural forces and phenomena).
- Anthropomorphism (the representation of objects (especially a god) as having human form or traits).
- Shamanism (an animistic religion having the belief that the mediation between the visible and the spirit worlds is effected by shamans.
- Ancestral Worship (the activity of worshipping (law) inherited or inheritable by established rules (usually legal

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2 Harapriya Das Swain, 2009, "Tribal Contributions to the Cultural History of Orissa", *Orissa Review*, December, p. 41.

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rules) of descent).

- Vision of Morality, Ethics and Perfection.

Unique feature of the philosophical concepts of the tribal heritage of Odisha has contributed to Indian philosophy in every step and we find unique synthesis, which opens new possibilities for interdisciplinary and applied research.

Oral Tradition of the Tribal Community of Odisha: Philosophical Perspectives

Tribal philosophy of Odisha presents "oral tradition" in their grand cultural heritage through the ages. Tradition of orality and oral expressions are transmitted from one generation to another.[3] We do not find a large number of written records in tribal community, and significant references being found in the oral tradition among the tribal community.

Tradition of oral expressions may be seen in one of the songs of the Kondh tribe (lives in Kondhamal, Sambalpur, Keonjhar, Koraput, Bolangir, Ganjam and Sundergarh districts) doing agricultural activity:

.....
The season has come
The season of Dhartanī
The earth-goddess.
.....[4]

The Kondh tribe use this song as invocatory song to please the earth-goddess Dhartanī or Dharitrī. We also, find a famous quote by Bhīmā Bhoi, a 19th century Kondh poet of western Odisha, from his *Nirveda Sādhanā*.

mo jibanapachhenarkepadithau jagatuddharapau.
Let my life suffer in hell but let the whole world be rescued.

---

3 C. Charters Macpherson, 1852, *An Account of the Religion of the Kondhs in Odisha*, p.11, London: William Clowes and Sons.

4 Sitakant Mahapatra, 1983, *The Awakened Wind: The Oral Poetry of the Indian Tribes*, New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House.

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There is one more example of the ancestor worship in Oral tradition of worship in of the Kondh tribe:

One festival will follow
Another
The never ending cycle.
In the festival
We remember the ancestors
Invoke them to come.
.....[5]

The Oraon (lives in Sundergarh, Gunupur, Sambalpur, and Bonai) sing a song dedicated during the agricultural activity which links to their cultural identity:

kaddikalakokalanayaṅge ।
tikarinunambasekera
kalakokalanuyange paisa ।
mañjedharacandvaṅkhelkhelokhelo ।
pairibirinuyankalakonadt
birikalkhasane ।
kala kokalanuiyan gage
pisa manjedharacandvan ।
khelkhelo khel.

Go and soon plough the land and don't sit under the sun. Later you will wash your necklace which is made of silver coin. Rise early in morning and go for ploughing. In the afternoon go to make ridge in the field. In the evening you should wash your silver necklace.

The oral tradition of the tribes of Odisha preserved through cultivation songs, forest songs, social gatherings, marriage songs, songs related to conflicting situations, *karama* songs, witches songs, mourning songs, etc.[6] Thus we can see how the tribes of Odisha

5 Sitakant Mahapatra, 1983, *The Awakened Wind: The Oral Poetry of the Indian Tribes*, New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House.

6 Nityananda Patnaik, 2002, *Folklore of Tribal Communities (Oral Literature of the Santals, Kharias, Oraons and Mundas of Orissa)*, New Delhi: Gyan Publishing House.

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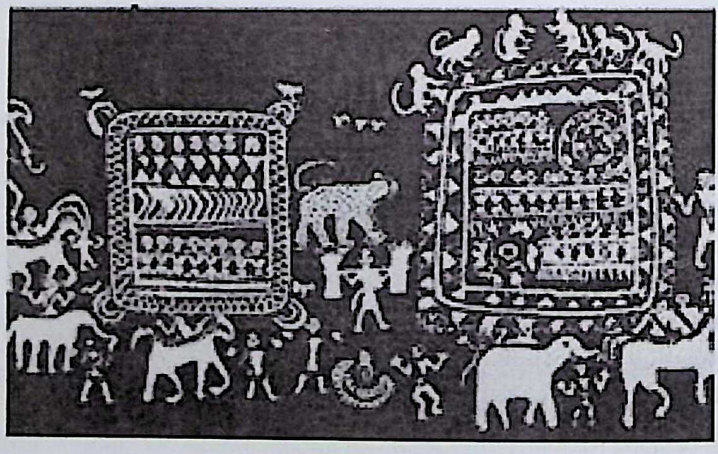
preserved their tradition through oral expressions. Also, oral tradition of the tribes also presents philosophical ideas and means to understand their religion and philosophy .

Mythology, Cult and Traditions in Tribal Communities of Odisha: Spiritual Assessment

The sixty-two tribal homelands of Odisha present different religious and mythological details. The philosophy and deep symbolism of the tribes of Odisha have contributed for development of philosophical as well as religious ideas through the ages. They believe in one Supreme Being and accept the supernatural powers of the nature as well as anthropomorphism in their philosophical and religious ideas. It is being accepted among all the tribal communites of Odisha as the Supreme Being is the creator of the universe, and He is self-existing and the source of all the good things.[7] In the Kondh tradition, Boora Pennu (the god of light) was the source of creation, he created himself a consort, namely Tari Pennu (the earth goddess) and afterwards he created the Earth. According to the legend:



The Saora tribals of Odisha draw a "house of the gods", comprising a whole universe of creatures and vegetation (*courtesy:* Prof. Jyotindra Jain)

Boora Pennu took a handful of earth and threw it behind him

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7 Macpherson, 1852, op. cit., p. 13.

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> to create man; but Tari caught it ere it fell, and cast it on one side, when trees, herbs, flowers, and every form of vegetable life sprang up. Boora Pennu again threw a handful of earth behind him; but Tari caught it in like manner and cast it into the sea, when fish and all things that live in water were generated. Boora threw a third handful of earth behind him, which also Tari intercepted and flung aside, when all the lower animals, wild and tame, were formed. Boora cast a fourth handful behind him, which Tari caught and threw up into the air, when the feathered tribes and all creatures which fly were produced. Boora Pennu, looking round, perceived what Tari had done to frustrate his intentions, and, lying his hand upon her head to prevent her further interference, he took up a fifth handful of earth and placed it on the ground behind him; and from it the human race was created. Tari Pennu then placed her hands over the earth, and said "Let these beings you have made exist; you shall create no more!" Whereupon Boora caused an exudation of sweat to proceed from his body, collected it in his hand, and threw it around, saying "To all that I have created!" and thence arose love and sex and the continuation of species.[8]

What a marvellous tradition, which refers to origin of the universe in a significant manner. Tribes of Odisha believe in many gods and typically these gods are distinguished by particular functions. According to their faith, gods take the form of objects found in nature, including trees, sacred herbs, animals and animal–human hybrids. It may be observed that belief in multiple gods is probably the result of an earlier belief of the supernatural forces and the belief system is similar to animism, nature worship, anthropomorphism and ancestral worship.

Therefore, they worship multiple gods and goddesses, for example, the Kondh tribe worship Pidzu Pennu (the god of rain); Boori Pennu (the goddess of new vegetation and first fruits); Loha Pennu (the god of war); Pitterri Pennu (the god of plenty); Nadzu

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8 Macpherson, 1852, op. cit., pp. 13-14.

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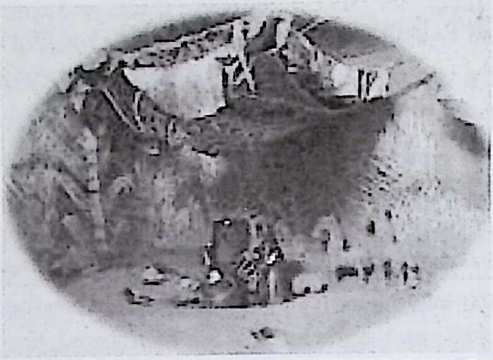

Rock art shelter of Sitaghara: Sitaghara, Sitabinji Group of rock shelter — Keonjhar, IGNCA archival collection

Pennu (The village god); Soro Pennu (the hill god), Jori Pennu (the god of streams); Gossa Pennu (the forest god); Sooga Pennu (the god of fountains) and many others, those are personified with nature. During rituals, ceremonies and festive celebrations, they worship the gods and goddesses and pray with sacred invocations, for example, they worship Tari Pennu, as "give us increase of wealth, and we will give you increase of worship".[9]

The Kandhas of Odisha worship "rain" as the natural element and Pidzu Pennu, as the god of rain. In the prayers to Pidzu Pennu, we find a typical kind of worship of the rain god: "O Pidzu Pennu! . . . pour the water down on it through your sieve until the Samber, unable to live in the forests, shall seek shelter in our houses, and till the soil of the mountains shall be washed into our vallies". They worship Loha Pennu (The God of War): "O god of War! now give to our arms the qualities of the first merciless iron. Then shall we be rich in every form of wealth, and we will pay to you the richest worship."[10]

The family of gods in the tribal community used to explain natural phenomena and a number of gods would expand as the culture's belief develops. The tribes of Odisha also believe on wide variety of spirits and their importance in daily life. For example,

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9 Macpherson, 1852, op. cit., p. 41.

10 Ibid., p. 57.

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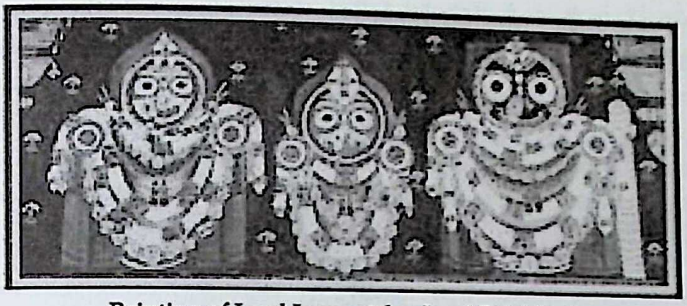

Painting of Lord Jagannātha, Lord Balabhadra and Goddess Subhadrā

creator spirits are called *kintung* in the Sora tribal community.

One of the important factors of the tribal community of Odisha is transformation of cults, which plays an important role in tribal culture. Among those cults, Cult of Lord Jagannātha[11] also marks its unique place in tribal as well as non-tribal communities. The origin of Lord Jagannātha in the form of Nīlamādhava at Nīlaśaila (blue mountain) and it is clearly mentioned in the *Skanda Purāṇa*. Jagannātha, Balabhadra and Subhadrā are being worshipped by the Khonds of Odisha as Jaleri Pennu, Tana Pennu and Muranni Pennu respectively. In the cult of Goddess Maṅgalā, she is worshipped by the Śavara tribe of Odisha and regarded as the *iṣṭadevī* (presiding goddess) of the Śavaras and other tribes. But of late, other people of Odisha also started worshipping her. It may be considered that goddess Maṅgalā is the peoples' goddess all over the state and thus its relationship with the tribal origin of Lord Jagannātha is established.[12]

There is also the cult of Bañjārī Devī, who has tribal origin and we find her worship by the Bañjārās (a nomadic tribe) on the Chhattisgarh and Odisha border. The cults of goddesses Stambheśvarī and Khambheśvarī definitely has tribal origin and are being worshipped in the tribal-dominated areas like Bau-Khondmal, Bolangir, Kalahandi, Angul, Ghumsar and Sambalpur.

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11 Dina Krishna Joshi, 2007, "Lord Jagannath: The Tribal Deity", *Odisha Review*, June–July, pp. 80-84.

12 Swain, 2009, op. cit., pp. 41-43.

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Similarly in the cult of Goddess Samaleśvarī (basically the wooden pillar structure of the deity presents the aboriginal character), she is worshipped by the tribes of Sambalpur and adjacent areas. Also, in the cults of Kesaripalli, Kandhuni of Sorada; Nārāyaṇī of Konkorda; Samalei of Hiñjilikaṭu, Tāriṇī of Ghaṭagāon in Keonjhar district and Tārā-Tāriṇī of Ganjam, etc. they are identified as the tribal goddess and in the later period Hindus also started worshipping them.

Rock art shelter of Chandali Ūṣakoṭi-I: Pūjāḍuṅgiri Hillock, Suvarnapur, IGNCA archival collection

Philosophy of Animism and Nature-Worship in Tribal Heritage of Odisha

One of the significant features of the philosophical traits of the tribal people of Odisha is animism and nature worship. Animism is the doctrine that all natural objects and the universe itself have souls and nature worship is a system of religion that deifies and worships natural forces and phenomena.

Tribal people of Odisha are very close to nature and they believe on triple unification, i.e. man, nature and the universe.[13] Therefore,

[13] Manjit Mahanta (2012), "A Lost Tradition? Reflections Towards Select Tribal Songs of Odisha", a dissertation submitted to the Department of Humanities and Social Sciences, National Institute of Technology, Rourkela, in partial fulfilment for the requirement of the award of the degree of Master of Arts in Development Studies, p. 33.

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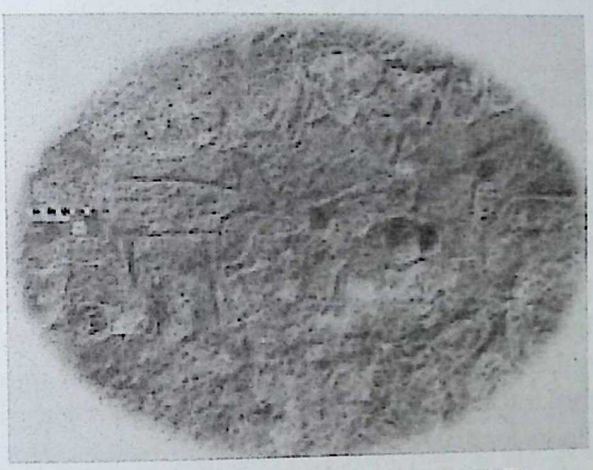
worship of nature and the natural powers are being mentioned in the religious and philosophical history of the tribes of Odisha.

It may be observed that worship of nature in Indian tradition as its beginning from the Vedic period and details are recorded in the sacred verses of the Vedas.

We find similar traditions in the tribal community of Odisha. Special emphasis has been given on three main elements of nature worship: the soil as mother earth, sun as religious god and water as the life giver.



Rock art shelter of Bhimamandali (UKT-II), district Sambalpur, IGNCA

The Gond tribe of western Odisha worships Dharaṇī Devī (Earth Goddess). The Kandha tribe of western Odisha worships the Earth Goddess through the Meriah ritual song, i.e.:

Do not be angry with us o goddess!
For giving you the blood of beasts
instead of human blood.
Vent your anger on this gentleman
who is well able to bear it
We are guiltless.[14]

[14] Sitakant Mohapatra, 1983, *The Awakened Wind: The Oral Poetry of the Indian Tribes*, op. cit., p. 215.

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Kandhas consider Earth Goddess bestows prosperity and sings:

We cultivate you earth
We defiled (polluted) you
Take this flesh and eat it
Make our crop grow
Do not bring sickness.[15]

Tribal people are closely associated with nature as they live in the surroundings of forests and consider nature as the powerful source of their survival. The Santals sing a song about the nature as:

From which side wind blew
From which side storm came
With the force of the wind and
Storm the bird's nest was blown away.
The birds are moving here and there is sorrow
Mother bird is busy building a nest for a better
condition of her chicks.

Similarly, we find reference to the worship of Lord Indra through the Indparva (Ind Festival) being celebrated in Sundergaṛh. Basically, Lord Indra is considered as the rain god and objective of this festival is to express gratitude and conduct *pūjā* in the honour of Lord Indra for timely rain.

The Santals worship Maran Buru (great mountain) as a village deity. Maran Buru, as a village deity, has far-reaching powers and associates with good and evil and he is believed to be the leader of the Bongas.

Sacred groves are the treasure of nature and we find worship of Jaher Era (goddesses of sacred groves) by the Santals. She is considered as the benevolent spirit who looks after the village and never does any harm. The Oraon tribe (resides in Sundergaṛh, Gunupur and Sambalpur) sing a cultivation song in the agriculture fields, which presents the beauty of the forest, as:

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15 Barbara M. Boal, 1984, "Centuries of Hill-Khond Folk Religion and Its Interaction with the Odishan Plains", *Folk Culture*, V: 34.

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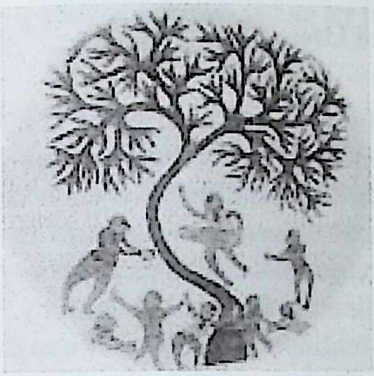

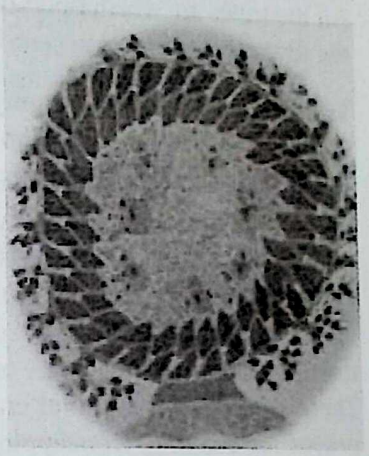

Scene of a tribal painting of Koraput

In the dust, by the roadside
In dung heaps
The wild trees come up.
But they never truly look beautiful
Without the flowers.
.....[16]

The Kandhas of Odisha worship "rain" as the natural element and Pidzu Pennu, as the god of rain.[17] In the prayers to Pidzu Pennu, we find a typical kind of worship of rain god, where reflection of nature can be observed:

> O Pidzu Pennu! . . . give us abundant rain, enough to melt the hilltops. Go and fetch water for us, if need be, by force or fraud, from the stores of your friends the god of rain. Bringing it in brass vessels, and in hollow gourds, and resting on the sky above our land, pour the water down on it through your sieve until the Samber, unable to live in the forests, shall seek shelter in our houses, and till the soil of the mountains shall be washed into our vallies.

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16 Sitakant Mohapatra, 1983, op. cit.

17 Macpherson, 1852, op. cit., p. 51.

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All the tribes are worshippers of nature and they feel presence of the divine nature.

Tribal Vision of the Philosophy of Life: Morality, Ethics and Perfection

Tribal vision of philosophy indicates that the ethical aspect of life is also important for the divinity and integrity of life. Philosophy of the tribes of Odisha instructs that ethical dimension plays an important role for the development of personal qualities. The invocations, hymns, legends and ceremonials of the gods, moreover, the ritualistic practices are the outlines of the tribal philosophy.[18] Therefore, we find a faithful oral tradition of the tribes through prayer for blessing, worshipping and remembering forefathers, welfare of world, environment protection and integration among communities. They believe that the cycle of creation and nature is a never-ending process, while they sing: One festival will follow/ another/the never ending cycle. They believe in ancestors and remember them in every span of life:

In the festival
We remember the ancestors
Invoke them to come.[19]

They believe in *karma* and that is the ultimate aim for survival.

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18 Uma Charan Mohanty, 1962, "The Ind Festival in Sundargarh, Odisha: A Case of Tribal Dysphoria and Its Alcoholic Twist", *The Economic Weekly*, 7 April; Debashis Patra, 2010, "The Cultural History of the Tribals of the Koraput Region", *Odisha Review* (Census Special), December, pp. 46-49; Abhaya Narayan Nayak, 2010, "Primitive Tribal Groups of Odisha: An Evaluation of Census Data", *Odisha Review* (Census Special), December, pp. 202-05; Sadasiba Pradhan, 2009, "Rock Art and Tribal Art of Odisha: An Ethno-archaeological Perspective", XXIII Valcamonica Symposium Paper, pp. 297-307; Raghunath Rath, 2010, "Kandha Culture of Kalahandi in Odisha", *Odisha Review;* May-June, pp. 76-82; Raghunath Rath, 2011, "Development and Cultural Change Among the Kandh Tribals of Kandhamal", *Odisha Review*, LXVII(11), June:.34-40.

19 Sitakant Mahapatra, 1983, op. cit.

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The Oraons sing a song, dedicated during the agricultural activity:

> Go and soon plough the land and don't sit under the sun... Rise early in morning and go for ploughing. In the afternoon go to make ridge in the field.

Their relationship with the divine power is completely integral and presents the divine relationship. This integral unification of the Munda tribe may be seen in the following song:

> *What can you do with a rice grain?*
> *You can feed it to the crow,*
> *Or even a pigeon if you know.*
> *You can take a bite too,*
> *If you like it raw.*
> *But can you make a god?*
> *With rice and sticks*
> *And no straw.*
> *I can!*
> *I live somewhere you might not know.*
> *I am a Munda*
> *And I make gods with reaps of my pain.*

The Kondh tribe believe in manifestation of the divine powers in their life and we find a typical kind of worship of Boora Pennu (the god of light)

> ... grant the prayers which we now offer. In the morning, we rise before the light to our labour, carrying the seed. Save us from the tiger, and the snake, and from stumbling blocks to receive it. Remember that the increase of our produce is the increase of your worship, and that its diminution must be the diminution of your rites.[20]

They pray for divine wisdom, by which they can perform their works in a perfect manner. They invoke Pitterri Pennu (the god of increase):

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20 Macpherson, 1852, op. cit., p. 13.

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> We are unskilled in adapting our seeds to different soils; give us wisdom to suit them to each other. Thou art a god created by Boora Pennu. O Pitterri Pennu! if pleased, your bounty is boundless, Be gracious to us.[21]

They pray to Jori Pennu (the god of streams):

> Give us increase of wealth! Accept our worship graciously, and give us your blessings.[22]

Morality and ethics of the tribes of Odisha provide ample advices by which the negative aspects of life can be removed and the holistic approach can create the path for a better life of perfection. Tribal religion exists in oral tradition alone, and the priesthood, which was the chief means to preserve the culture of the tribes.

Tribal Philosophy of Odisha and Its Contribution to Indian Knowledge System

Basically, when we talk about contribution of the tribal philosophy of Odisha to the Indian knowledge system, we find that the heritage has significantly contributed to the development of both intangible and tangible knowledge heritage. Intangible heritage of the tribal philosophy represents the cultural wealth of a given society, such as knowledge system, symbolic representation of historical facts, values and beliefs. And this heritage was followed through oral tradition and we do not find extensive written record of the tribes.

Tangible heritage of tribal philosophy represents itself in a material form, like manuscripts, archaeology, art objects, monuments, landscapes, historical sites and heritage compounds. Since the tradition was followed through oral system, we do not find extensive written literature of the tribes. However, a few number of manuscripts of Mahimā tradition are available in some of the Indian libraries.

During the course of time, the artistic skill of the tribal people manifested through dance, music, paintings, wood carvings, art

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21 Macpherson, 1852, op. cit., p. 53.

22 Ibid., p. 62.

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and craft, motifs and flowers, and geometrical designs and all these are expressions of their artistic quality and aesthetic sense of their culture. This integral form of both the tangible and intangible culture plays an important role to enrich Indian knowledge system. Intangible and tangible aspects of the tribal philosophy is an important factor in maintaining intercultural dialogue and cultural diversity in the age of growing globalization and urbanization.

Inter-Philosophical and Intercultural Dialogue for Promotion of Tribal Heritage: Tradition, Sustainability and Future Perspectives

The tribal culture of Odisha presents philosophical thoughts in a significant manner. We find a very simplified mode of worship in the tribal culture and a deep symbolism in the philosophical traits

A tribal painting depicting unification with nature

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of the tribal people. The appearance of0 clear-cut ideas expressed through the tradition of oral expressions and the most important of these conceptions from the point of view of philosophy and symbolism are "the endeavour to state the nature of the highest principle of the universe", "the theory of integral unification of man, nature and the universe, "anthropomorphism and worship of the divine powers for sustainability", "theory of sacrifice and ritual" and "the nature of truth and right". One of the important factors of the philosophical tradition of Odisha consists of its integral relationship with different branches of Indian philosophical schools and we find similar ideas expressed in a different language, in a different mode of expression, in a different mode of literature and also in a different mode of ritualistic practices. As the famous Vedic dictum of *Ṛgveda* says: *ekam sadviprā vahudā vadanti* (Truth is one but the wise explain it differently). To address this issue, the paper recommends inter-philosophical dialogue between the philosophical, religious and cultural ethos of the tribal culture with different schools of Indian philosophy, so that identity and differences can be made out and multicultural, multi-philosophical and multi-religious approach can be developed. This will certainly promote the tradition and practice of the tribal culture and sustainable development for building the bridge between world cultures in the contemporary scenario.[23]

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[23] Francesca Merlan, 2009, "Indigeneity: Global and Local" *Current Anthropology*, 50(3): 330-33.

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9

Glimpses of Archival Manuscripts

Zareena Parveen

IN THIS article an attempt is made to highlight some of the rare and old manuscripts which are preserved in AP State Archives. It would not be out of place to say a few words on Archives.

Archives are a treasure house of past material. Sir Hilary Jenkenson defines an Archive as: "Document as a manuscript, typescript and printed matter with any other material evidence, which forms part of it or as annexed to it". A "Document", "which may be said to belong to the class of archives is one which once drawn up is used in the course of an administrative or executive transition (either public or private) of which itself formed a part". Archives are a gold mine (a) from which a historian digs out the material for his narrative, (b) to which the administrator turns for precedence of an action to be contemplated, and (c) in which diplomats and the ministers seek for authentic information about some diplomatic or political transactions of long ago. Thus they have much strategic and scholarly value, necessitating their classification and preservation.

AP State Archives is a big repository of the administrative and historical records and possesses the recent administrative records but also the records of the Deccan in Persian, Marathi, Telugu, Kannada, Urdu and English from 1406 CE, covering the reigns of dynasties like Bahmanī, Qutb Shāhī, Ādil Shāhī and also the Mughals from the days of Emperor Shah Jahan till the end of Aurangzeb (1628 to 1707) as well as a huge quantum of records pertaining to Āsaf Jahī dynasty from Nizām-ul-Mulk Āsaf Jah I to Mīr Osman Alī Khan Nizām VII (1724–1948). Besides these Andhra

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records, they are approximately twenty million documents, which are preserved and used by the government, public, historians, academicians and research scholars. Persian was the official and court language in Deccan till 1884 during the period of Mīr Mahboob Ali Khan Nizām VI; owing to this, most of the records and manuscripts are in Persian.

The history of the Indo-Iranian relationship is centuries old. Trade relations, cultural contacts, political connections and religious affinity between the people of Iran and India existed right from the days of the Achaemenian dynasty in Iran to the end of Mughal rule in India.

The relationships between the two countries date back to 1500 BCE. The people of Iran and India belong to the same Aryan stock and spoke a kindered language — old Persian and Vedic Sanskrit. In this way basically there was racial kinship and lingual affinity between them. The contacts which were initiated in ancient times were renewed by the Ghaznavids and continued in various forms down to the eighteenth century CE coinciding the downfall of the Mughal Empire after the death of Aurangzeb. Apart from the Mughals in the north, the Bahmanī, the Ādil Shāhī, the Qutb Shāhī and the Āsaf Jahī dynasties of the Deccan had relations with Iran on various plains.

The word manuscript comes from the Latin word *manuscriptum*. The manuscripts, as we know, are old books written by hand. They date back from ancient to early modern or even medieval eras. Manuscripts are the primary method of recording ideas, facts, events and history on paper. The manuscript is a book which gives the glimpses of past and the bygone history. The meaningful words written in hand, not only show the political scenario of a particular period but also reflect the socio-economic, literary and cultural events. This manuscript comes under the primary source for research on historical events and other facets of a particular era.

Persian was the official and court language in India for centuries, apart from being the medium of education and the language of knowledge, literature and learning. Because of this,

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many archives, oriental libraries, other institutions and individual collections are filled with the manuscripts in Persian. They are also loaded with many Urdu, Arabic and Telugu manuscripts as well.

Yet there are a large number of manuscripts which are yet to see the light of the day; they are not available for research. The main hurdle in realizing the importance of these manuscripts today is the lack of knowledge of Persian, which is no longer in use in India. These manuscripts can give us precious information about our glorious past, if studied in letter and spirit.

According to subjects, these manuscripts may be classified into history, i.e. memoir (*tazkirā*), biography (*sawnih*), literature (*adabīyat*), linguistics (*lisāniyat*), composition (*inshā*), letters (*makātib*), manual of account (*siyāq*), revenue administration (*maliyā-nazm-o-nasq*), geography (*jughrāfiā*) and travelogues (*safarnāmās*). Most of the manuscripts are related to the history of north Indian sultanates.

It is true that some of the manuscripts are very old and rare pertaining to dynasties of Bahmanī, Qutb Shāhī, Adīl Shāhī and Mughal periods. Most of the manuscripts relating to the history of Āsaf Jahī period (1724–1948) are preserved in the State Archives.

The Old and Rare Manuscripts

NAURANĀMĀ

It is an important manuscript. The author, Abdul Lateef Mustafā, was a famous calligrapher at the court of Ibrāhim Ādil Shāh II (1580–1627), who had earned name and fame for his knowledge, experience and grace. Abdul Lateef Mustafā wrote many of the poems in Persian and Deccani languages; he was a lover of poetry, music, calligraphy and painting. He got the title of *jagatguru* by Ibrāhim Ādil Shāh II. The copy of this manuscript was kept in the Royal Library of Ibrahim Adil Shah II, Bījāpur. The same copy is preserved in excellent condition at the AP State Archives.

KITĀB-Ī-NAURAS

It is a brief manuscript relating to the art of music, which was composed in Deccani verses. It contains an exposition of some

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rāgas and *rāginīs* (classical tunes) which has been done to the extent of entitling a particular *rāga* or *rāginī* and recording the songs composed by Ibrāhim Ādil Shāh II under each such title or category. The copy available in the Archives comprises thirty-seven leaves calligraphed in *naskh* and *suls*. The copy of the Archives is in an excellent condition and attractive get-up. On the cover, there is a scribbling denoting "Ādil" which is presumed to be the signature of Ibrāhim Ādil Shāh II.

Nazir Ahmed edited and compiled *Nauras* with reference to its nine copies available including the one in Andhra Pradesh State Archives, and published it from Lucknow in 1955. The published book contains its original text along with its Urdu translation. The explanation of the allusions in the text and glossary is appended which can serve as a good and authentic source for research work.[1]

HADIQAT-US-SALĀTĪN

The author of this manuscript Mirzā Nizāmuddīn Ahmed Shirāzī has described the accounts of the conduct and affairs of the period of Qutb Shāhī King Sultān Abdullā Qutb Shāh from 1614 (the year of his birth) to 1641. The copy of this manuscript is available at the Archives. It has been written on a thin light blue colour paper. The calligraphy is beautiful and is done in fine decorative *nastaliq*. The first page shows the Iranian style of engravings and designs. Each page of the text is written in four-side golden marginal lines. This manuscript is consisted of 537 folios. Syed Ali Azgar Bilgrāmī published this as a book in 1916 with corrections and emendations.[2]

FATH-UL-MUJĀHIDĪN

This was compiled by Zain-ul-Abidīn Shustari, the brother of Mīr Ālam who was Madar-ul-Moham of the Nizām's dominions. It is the one and only Persian manuscript which throws lights on the military administration of Tipu Sultan and was published long

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1 Ibrahim Adil Shāh, H 1022, *Naurasnāmā*, Deccani, MS No. 142.

2 Mirza Nizamuddin Ahmed Shirāzī, H 1119, *Hadiqat-us-Salātīn*, Persian, MS No. 139.

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ago. However, the published copy is rarely available now. The manuscript preserved in the Archives has 170 pages done in *nastaliq*. Tipu Sultan himself wrote *bismillāhir-rahmānir-rahīm* (in the name of Allah the most gracious, most merciful) on the first page of the compilation and affixed his signature.[3]

DEH-BA-DEH

It is a Persian manuscript and describes the administrative divisions of the dominion consisting of six *sūbā*s of the Deccan, viz. Aurangabad, Berar, Khandesh, Bidar, Bījapur and Hyderabad. These were further divided into ninety-three *sarkāra*s and 1,228 *mahala*s. The revenue account during the reign of Aurangzeb is available from this manuscript. It appears that it was completed soon after the death of Aurangzeb. It is not yet published and it consists of 476 folios.

This manuscript covered the entire statistical details of the six *sūbā*s of the Deccan. In the beginning the abstracts of the revenue of the entire Deccan *sūbā*s have been furnished. It also describes the number of the *mahala*s in each district and the number of district in each *sūbā* with the total revenue figures of the *sūbā*. This manuscript also gives information about the revenue of the certain number of *mahala*s, the accounts of which have been already received and the revenue of the remaining *mahala*s, the accounts of which have not been received; on this basis a statement had been prepared and placed under appendix of the revenue administration.[4]

SHĀH JAHĀN NĀMĀ

It consists of a detailed history of Shāh Jāhan's reign (1628-58 CE). The author of this manuscript Muhammad Ināyat Khan was a *waqai nawī* under Shāh Jahān. He claims to have written it from his personal knowledge.

This book is a valuable source material pertaining to the period of Shāh Jahān. The land-revenue reforms introduced by Murshid

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3 Zain-ul-Abidīn Shustari, n.d., *Fath-ul-Mujāhidīn*, Urdu, MS No. 414.

4 Mughal Sarkar, H 1243, *Dah-ba-Dah*, MS No. 53.

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Quli Khan in the Deccan just before the period under study have been described in it in detail and this material is essential for the study of the various aspects of revenue administration of the period.[5]

TĀRĪKH-Ī-SULTĀN MUHAMMAD QUTB SHĀH

This manuscript provides 105 years history of Qutb Shāhī Dynasty from H 918/1512 CE to H 1026/1617 CE. The author of this manuscript has not revealed his name but he has stated that he was one of the scribes of Sultān Muhammad Qutb Shāh and took up this work as directed by the Sultān himself, and completed it in 1617 CE. The manuscript consisting of 306 pages written in somewhat broken, but fine, *nastaliq* is divided into the following six *muqaddamas* (chapters):

I. Introduction — A detailed life history of Qara Yusuf of Turkman and his ancestors.

II. A biographical account of Sultān Qulī Qutb-ul-Mulk, founder of the dynasty.

III. Affairs and conditions of the period of Jamshid Qulī Qutb Shāh and Subhān Qulī Qutb Shāh.

IV. Detailed account of the career and achievements of Ibrāhim Qutb Shāh.

V. Affairs and conditions during the reign of Muhammad Qulī Qutb Shāh, the founder of Hyderabad.

VI. The end — Features the period of Sultan Muhammad Qutb Shāh up to the end of H 1026/1617 CE.

Selected verses composed by Sultān Muhammad Qutb Shāh with the pen-name of Zillullāh and Sultān are given towards the end of the manuscript. The name of its calligraphist is Mirzā Sādat Alī Beg.[6]

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[5] Muhammad Ināyat Khan, *Shāh Jahān Nāmā (1628-58 CE)*, Persian, MS. No. 35.

[6] Anonymous, H 1027/1617 CE, *Tārīkh-ī-Qutb Shāhī*, MS No. 23.

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WASĪYATNĀMĀ

Nizām-ul-Mulk Āsaf Jah I passed away peacefully after a brief illness on 4th Jamādi II H 1160/21 May 1748 at the age of 78 years. Lālā Mansārām was the dictator of the *Wasīyatnāmā* of Āsaf Jah. Many of the higher authorities were present in the death chamber; among them was one of the close associates of Āsaf Jah, Lālā Mansārām. Āsaf Jah testament is consisted of sixteen behoves; he advised his son how to deal with the Marāṭhās, who were the *zamīndārs* of the country, to seek peace and agreement with them and not to destruct the foundation of the mankind, which had been laid by province; and he should be sympathetic and not to consider that there was the stock for so many years of barley (*khusha*), wheat (*gandum*) and maize (*bhuṭṭā*), which actually grow anew every year and warned him in this matter to exercise utmost caution. He advised his son to commit the criminal who is guilty of a grave offence to the Qāzī, thereby he should not give the assassination orders.

> You should pass most of your life in travel, as every day brings you to new destinations and new matters and you should make a habit of living under the tents (*khima*) as very often the administration of the country and organization of all the state affairs lie therein. But you should grant sepoys tents/camp. Officials should stay with you according to their duty.
>
> By the grace of God, all the affairs and works are entrusted to you by God. You should take care to perform daily prayers, offer thanks to God for the sovereignty conferred upon you. You should not waste your time, but devise rules and regulations and affairs of state with absolute care and devote your full attention towards the *dīna* and *duniyā* proportionately. Attention should be paid to maintain general administration and be careful of your general principle of conduct also. God will grant you good fortune as the holymen and saints will intercede for you in your need. You must also offer thanks to God for making you the trustee of the rights of the individuals and not to usurp the inheritance of any one of them, for fear that you may be called to give account on the day of judgement.

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MĀSIR-Ī-NIZĀMĪ

It is an unpublished Persian manuscript compiled in 1785. It is the biography of Nizām-ul-Mulk, Āsaf Jah I. The author of this manuscript was Lālā Mansārām, who was the *peshi* secretary of the office of the Sadarath (religious establishment) during the rule of Āsaf Jah I. Mansārām's grandfather Bāla Kṛṣṇa served Khwājā Ābid Khan, the grandfather of Nizām-ul-Mulk. Mansārām's father Bhawānī Dās served Ghāziuddīn Khan Firoz Jung, the father of Nizām-ul-Mulk. Thus the family of the Mansārām was associated with the family of Nizāms for three generations, but he was closely associated with Nizām-ul-Mulk Āsaf Jah I. This work runs into 194 pages, it was calligraphed by Choṭṭulāl, son of Roy Lachman Singh in H 1272/1855 CE. The early pages describe the careers of Khwājā Ābid Khan, the grandfather, and the Ghāzīuddīn Firoz Jung, the father of Nizām-ul-Mulk Āsaf JahI briefly.

The author narrates the complete biography of Nizām-ul-Mulk, right from his birth to death. Describing his childhood, Nizām-ul-Mulk, says:

> I was not inclined to indulge in play as is common with the children of my age. My father always used to hold council with his advisers at night. The discussions used to continue till the middle of night. I used to listen to the discussions, but my father often used to tell me to go to bed. I used to get up and sit in a corner, listening to the discussion.

Nizām-ul-Mulk always received love and care from his father.

In short, this biographical work of Nizām-ul-Mulk is very authentic, as Mansārām was so closely associated with Āsaf Jah I, that he was with Nizām-ul-Mulk right from his birth to death. Mansārām recorded 94 anecdotes of Nizām-ul-Mulk. All the anecdotes were written by Mansārām himself, thereby all these anecdotes throw a flood of light on the character of Āsaf Jah I. This is an informative manuscript for the research scholars, academicians and historians. It covers the entire life of Āsaf Jah from birth to death, limelighting his rise, zeal, achievements and advancement.

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This manuscript shows the varied aspects of Āsaf Jah's personality and character apart from the fact that he was a military commander, statesman, shrewd politician and an efficient ruler.[7]

SAWĀNIH-Ī-DECCAN

It is an unpublished Persian manuscript. This work was compiled by Munīm Khan, a military commander in the regime of Nizām Alī Khan Āsaf Jah II in H 1197/1782 CE. It describes the administrative divisions and revenue of the Mughal Deccan, based on the records prepared during the last years of Aurangzeb's regime. It seems that all official records were made accessible to him for dividing the book into two parts. The first part deals with the history and topography of the Deccan and he has allotted more than half of the work to the statistical details of the six provinces of the Deccan. He deals with each district and *parganā* separately, and he has also furnished the list of *sarkāras* (districts), *mahalas* (*parganās*) and villages along with their revenue. This manuscript material is very useful and comprehensive to research scholars who are working on the medieval period history. It details on the various aspects of Mughal administration in the Deccan.[8]

HUKMANĀMĀ-Ī-ṬĪPŪ SULTĀN

It contains the orders of Tipu Sultan issued to village officials. This manuscript is an authentic source for studying the history of Tipu Sultan. It was compiled in 1784 and Tipu Sultan had affixed his seal on the first page and his signature on the last leaf of the manuscript. A very few copies of *Hukumanāmā* of Tipu Sultan are available at different libraries, and one is preserved at AP State Archives. It is a rare and unique collection as no copy of it is a duplicate, and it may not be available elsewhere. It consists of 129 orders, decrees and commands of Tipu Sultan issued to the Sārishtadār Zāfarābād *tāluqa*. It gives fresh information about the

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7 Lālā Mansārām, 1785, *Māsir-ī-Nizāmī*, Persian, MS No. 36.

8 Munīm Khan Auraṅgābādī, H 1197/1782 CE, *Sawānīh-ī-Deccan*, MS No. 22.

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revised calendar of Tipu Sultan. This manuscript is multilingual and thus has contents in Persian, Kannada and Marathi. It was personally acquired by Muhibb-ul-Hasan from Śrīraṅgapatnam. This manuscript has twenty folios.[9]

In addition to all these collections some of the manuscripts published in Urdu and English are *Tazkirā-ī-Firoz Shāh, Taj-ul-Māsir, Āin-ī-Akbarī, Tuzak-ī-Jahāṅgīrī, Bādshāhnāmā, Iqbālnāmā, Hudiqat-us-Salātīn, Kitāb-ī-Nauras, Māsir-i-Ālamgirī, Māsir-ī-Nizāmī, Tārikh-ī-Rāhat Afzā, Khizānā-ī-Amīra, Tarīkha-ī-Zafarā, Wasīyatnāmā* and *Fath-ul-Mujahidīn.*

The above-mentioned manuscripts are only a tip of the iceberg in the vaults of the State Archives. These manuscripts throw light on the multifaceted personalities of the rulers like Bahmanī, Shāh Jahan, Aurangzeb, later Mughals, Qutb Shāhī of Golkoṇḍā, Ādil Shāhī of Bījāpur and Āsaf Jah I (from 1724 onwards) and provide interesting minute glimpses on their military campaigns. Further, these manuscripts give a deatiled account of the revenue administration. At micro and marco levels, the manuscript source materials are to be thoroughly arranged and studied with correct and unbiased perception on various facets in the history of modern and medieval Deccan.

The Andhra Pradesh State Archives and Oriental Manuscript Library possess in their custody a fabulous number of Persian, Arabic and Urdu documents and manuscripts. The State Archives has 570 very old and rare Persian manuscripts, other than 58 Urdu, 27 Arabic, 2 English, 2 Kannada and 2 Marathi MSS. The Oriental Manuscript Library has 8,000 rare historic and administrative manuscripts in Arabic, 8,000 in Persian and more than 100 in Urdu and other languages such as Sanskrit and Telugu.

These documents and paper manuscripts cover a wide range of topics such as administration, culture, literature, medicine — allopathy, Unānī, Āyurveda and veterinary sciences — of the

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[9] *Hukmanāmā-ī-Ṭīpū Sultān* (*Autobiography of Tipu Sultan*) 1784, MS No. 666.

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ancient, medieval and modern periods. Their effective utilization will help us know our past better.

The scripts of these manuscripts in Persian, Urdu, Deccani and Arabic are *nasq/nastaliq* (transcribing). One of the rare bulky and oldest manuscripts, *Tibb-i-nabavī*, is in Arabic. It is of the Qutb Shāhī period. It presents the knowhow of medical diagnosis and the treatment of many diseases with *jaḍī-būṭīs* (herbals), especially diabetics, paralysis, tuberculosis and many other different chronic diseases along with pictures of relevant herbals. Every *vaidya*, *hakīma* or doctor has described his method of treatment and medicines in Āyurveda, Unānī and allopathy, respectively.

The Persian and Arabic manuscripts preserved at the Archives and Oriental Manuscript Library, Hyderabad can be divided into nineteen categories as per norms and nuances of history, i.e. *tazkirā*, *hadīs*, *tafsīr*, *fiqa*, *sawānīh* (biography), *adabīyat* (literature), *lisānīyat* (linguistic), *insha* (composition), *makatib* (letters), *siyaq* (manual), *jugrāfiā* and *safaranāmās* (travelogues), *qawaid* (rules), *falsafā* (philosophy), *mantiq* (theology), *ilmī-ī-nujum* (astrology), medicine, *nabatat* (botany). Most of the manuscripts belong to north Indian sultanates of the medieval Bahmanī, Qutb Shāhī, Ādil Shāhī, Mughals and Āsaf Jahī ages. Some important MSS are:

- *Taj-ul-Māsir*
- *Tārīkh-ī-Firozshāhī*
- *Āin-ī-Akbarī*
- *Tuzak-ī-Jahāṅgirī*
- *Iqbālanāmā-ī-Jahāngirī*
- *Shāh Jahān-nāmā*
- *Gulshan-ī-Ibrāhimī*
- *Kitāb-ī-Nauras*
- *Hadiqat-us-Salātīn*
- *Muntakhāb-ul-lubub*
- *Ahkam-ī-Ālamgirī*

On Medicine

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- *Al-Adwiyat-ul-Qalbiyah (Bu Alī Sīnā)*
- *Malijat-i-Baqrātiyā*
- *Mutamad-ul-Adwiyā*
- *Mizān-ul-Mizāj*
- *Hudud-ul-Amraz*
- *Risail-i-Jalinus*
- *Bahr-ul-Jawāhir*
- *Khwās-ul-Adwiyā*
- *Maqzan-ul-Adwiyā*
- *Jam-i-Atibba*
- *Mufara-ul-Qulub Jawāhar-ī-Khamsa*
- *Kitāb-ī-Nauras*

Proposals

The Oriental Manuscript Library has signed a memorandum of understanding (MoU) with Iran. Under this MoU, it has digitalized nearly about 15,000 manuscripts. But the list of the manuscripts is in Persian and Urdu. There is a dire need to translate it into English and Telugu.

*All the manuscripts referred to in this article are available at the Archives and Research Institute in their original form.

The records of several old *daftar*s (administrative offices) had their origin during the reign of Asaf Jah I (Nizām-ul-Mulk) and subsequently became part of the State Archives. Among these the oldest *daftar* is *Daftar-ī-Dīwānī*. This *daftar* was created about the year 1721 CE and was held in a hereditary basis in the family of the Rai Rayans. Their transfer to the newly-created government office was in 1894 CE, marking the foundation of the Archives of the Nizam's dominions preserved in Repository-I.

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10

Gāndhārī
A Key Mother Figure of the Mahābhārata

Urmi Shah

THE present paper, concerning the study of Gāndhārī as a key mother figure in the *Mahābhārata* (Mbh), is an outcome of a study of some female characters from our national epics. The initial stories from the epics always raise questions about their situations, injustice they meet with and challenges they face which lead to varied responses/reactions about them. Are these characters always idealistically portrayed or are they human — is the usual question that would arise in the inquisitive mind. Years that would then follow would lead one to a matured conviction that:

1. Women as portrayed in their respective epics are strong characters. Though external factors that influenced their actions led to their idolization or condemnation through centuries, they were justified in given situations in their own right. However, traditional psyche has offered no middle way to understand them; it had to be looked for in between the lines.

2. Therefore, critical readings of their situations would serve as keys to explore various aspects of their psyche. The poets would have certainly dropped hints about this aspect in the poems but not highlighted them in the expansive narrative flow. These subdued expressions would also reveal vital contributions of these characters to the development of the stories.

This paper focuses on Gāndhārī, a significant mother figure of the *Mahābhārata*, daughter of Subala, the king of Gāndhāra, and

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mother of the hundred Kauravas. The inspiration of this particular character had also come from the reading of the Gujarati one-act play titled *Gāndhārī* (Parshva Prakashan, Ahmedabad, 1994) by late Shri Hasmukh Baradi, a stalwart of Gujarati theatre. It is based on his own study of the *Mahābhārata* text and works of Dr Upendrarai Sandesara on the *Mahābhārata*.

Both the above factors urged me to examine Gāndhārī as a woman who is always projected as an absolutely righteous woman due to her willing adoption of "blindness" instead of guiding her husband from his blind world to "light" and leading her progeny on the righteous path befitting the Kuru race. A thorough examination of the text will reveal the psyche of this multidimensional mother figure and her intense emotional experiences leading to conflicting, fluctuating behaviour on many occasions. In addition, it must be remembered that the *Mahābhārata* does not openly mention Dhṛtarāṣṭra's relations with his maids waiting upon him but they must be understood as natural course of the royal household and more so due to this accepted blindness of Gāndhārī which made her also depend on the services of maids. Gāndhārī must have realized her emotional and impulsive folly and regretted it too thus intensifying her frustrations, depression and the consequent helplessness.

(I would like to mention here that the references given from the *Mahābhārata* published by Gita Press, Gorakhpur, the reasons being our familiarity with the traditional text and episodes and to realize the aim to study the character as we know her through tradition.)

Gāndhārī's quality of *dharmaśīlatā* (virtuousness) is mentioned as her outstanding quality in answer to Janamejaya's query to Vaiśampāyana about the history of the Kuru family (Ādiparva 1.99c). Ironically the *Mahābhārata* predicts that Subala's progeny was to be the destroyer of *dharma* by the wrath of destiny (ibid. 63.111 — *tasya prajā dharma-hantrī jajñe daiva-prakopanāt*). He fathered Śakuni and Gāndhārī both of whom were experts in the science of artha (polity leading to the creation and maintenance of welfare state and its prosperous economy — *artha-vid*) (ibid. 112).

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In metaphoric and symbolic style Gāndhārī is said to be the portion of Mati — one of the ten wives of Dharma (ibid. 67.160d — which leads to the practice of *dharma*).

Before we note the life of Gāndhārī as depicted in the *Mahābhārata* in three stages, it is necessary to recall the history of the births of the three generations of the Kuru princes:

1. Śāntanu's marriage with Satyavatī (daughter of a fisherman) at an old age on the acceptance of her father's condition of the disregard of the primogeniture of the Kuru race and thereby Bhīṣma relinquishing his right to the throne and installing Satyavatī's son — a sole basis to satisfy *kāma* (desire).

2. Both the sons of Satyavatī dying without a heir — the eldest in a battle and the younger due to the disease of consumption and over-indulgence in sensual pleasure. This leads to begetting sons by Veda Vyāsa through *niyoga* with the consent of Bhīṣma and other wise men (ibid. 103-04). (He himself was an illegitimate son of pre-marital stage through the *kāma* of the Sage Parāśara but eldest son of Satyavatī, but a great sage). This needs a little detailed attention for our study in the present paper. The sage asked for the period of a year which would enable the widowed queens of Vicitravīrya — Ambikā and Ambālikā — to purify themselves through austerities for begetting excellent sons. However, Satyavatī urged him for the task with utmost urgency so as to have the heir apparent at the earliest to secure stability of the kingdom (ibid.104.43cd-45). Veda Vyāsa, therefore, asked his mother to prepare the queens to put up with his ugliness, guise and odour to beget excellent sons from him. When the sage approached Ambikā, she closed her eyes with fear looking at his form (ibid.105.5); hence the sage informed Satyavatī — *mātuḥ vaiguṇyād-andha eva bhaviṣyati* (the son will be blind due to the fault of his mother) (ibid.10ab); he was Dhṛtarāṣṭra (Ironically this point of the mother's fault

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as the cause for the future child's blindness as predicted by the sage holds true also for all the Kauravas especially the eldest of whom deviates from the path of righteousness due to the mother's jealousy and frustration later.)

Since a physically challenged person could not be a king she urged the sage to copulate with the second queen Ambālikā, who turned pale, was discoloured and afflicted with grief on the occasion due to the same reason (ibid. 17). Hence the sage predicted her son to be pale — Pāṇḍu.

Desperately Satyavatī begged from him yet another son from Ambikā. However, the young queen recalling the unbearable form and odour of the sage did not comply with the mother-in-law's wish. Instead, she decked a maid with her clothes and jewels and sent her to wait upon the sage. She waited upon the sage respectfully. He blessed her with a fortunate, virtuous son who would be foremost among all wise men and she also secured a respectful place in the Kuru household (ibid. 22cd-27). Thus was born Vidura — the youngest brother of Dhṛtarāṣṭra and Pāṇḍu. The *Mahābhārata* says that he was Dharma incarnate born so by the curse of the Sage Māṇḍavya, and was devoid of the flaws of *kāma* and *krodha* (desire and anger) which lead men to their destruction (ibid. 29).

3. The next generation is again born abnormally due to ill fate and curse (boons as well). Pāṇḍu ascended the throne and had two queens, Kuntī and Mādrī. Bhīṣma sent proposal of marriage for the blind prince to Subala — the king of Gāndhāra. Subala hesitated to accept it due to the blindness of the prince; but the fame and name of the Kurus tempted him to accept it (ibid. 109.12). On knowing about the blindness of her future husband, Kunti bandaged her eyes with a thickly folded cloth to show her love and respect for her future husband (ibid.13-15). The formal nuptial ties were solemnized in Hastināpura. The family was pleased by her respect, behaviour and virtuous inclination (ibid.

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18-19). Pāṇḍu's eldest queen Kuntī had received boons to have progeny from different gods while Gāndhārī had received the boon for hundred sons from Śiva. Pāṇḍu received a curse due to which both his queens got five sons — the Pāṇḍavas — from the different deities whose *mantra*s received by Kuntī. Among them and all the Kuru princes, Yudhiṣṭhira was born first despite Gāndhārī's pregnancy was earlier than that of Kuntī, and thus was entitled to the throne.

Now we focus on Gāndhārī in Ādiparva canto 115. The *Mahābhārata* refers to Gāndhārī having hundred sons by a boon. Once she served with devotion the hungry and fatigued Veda Vyāsa who blessed her to have a hundred sons. However, from the time of conception she carried a still foetus in her womb for two years. She was naturally in pain out of anxiety and hope for her son inheriting the throne. Misfortune followed her at this stage of her life as well. During this period, Yudhiṣṭhira was born — effulgent like the rising sun. This grieved her to such an extent that out of jealousy, frustration due to her prospective son's loss of inheriting the throne that Gāndhārī violently struck her womb. She delivered a lump of lifeless flesh hard like an iron ball. Dhṛtarāṣṭra was kept in dark about this tragedy as it was her intense spontaneous reaction (ibid.12). She decided to throw it away when Veda Vyāsa came there. Gāndhārī confessed the incident to him:

jyeṣṭhe kuntī-sutam jātam śrutvā ravi-sama-prabhaḥ ॥
duḥkhena parameṇa-idam-udaram ghātitam mayā ।
— ibid. 15cd, 16ab

Subsequently the sage got a hundred jars filled with ghee and kept in a concealed place. Cool water was sprinkled on the lump of flesh which was then separated into a hundred parts of the size of the thumb, each of which was placed in one pitcher. The last part (hundred and one in number) was kept for the birth of the daughter. These pitchers were to be watched over by Gāndhārī for two full years (ibid. 17-23).

Thus in due time was born Duryodhana, who was eldest by the

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order of conception, but was younger to Yudhiṣṭhira by birth — *jajñe krameṇa ca-etena teṣām duryodhano nṛpaḥ । janmatastu pramāṇena jyeṣṭho rājā yudhiṣṭiraḥ॥* — ibid. 25).

All the Kuru elders proclaimed Yudhishthira to be the eldest and heir to the throne, much to the grief of Dhṛtarāṣṭra as well (ibid. 31-32).

Birth of Duryodhana was greeted (!) by innumerable evil omens. It was predicted that the infant be an active instrument in extermination of the Kuru race and so, the parents were advised to abandon him (ibid. 34-40). Vidura, the wisest one (*mahāmatiḥ*), boldly advised thus. Dhṛtarāṣṭra did not have the heart to do so. (Actually his eldest son was Yuyutsu but was born of his vaiśya maid (ibid. 41-44).

However, Gāndhārī's large-heartedness can be seen in her warm welcome of Kuntī when she arrived at Hastināpura with her small sons after Pāṇḍu's death.

Besides this quality, we see other traits of Gāndhārī on the following occasions in the *Mahābhārata*:

1. In the Sabhāparva, Gāndhārī led the women of the harem to welcome and bless the Pāṇḍavas and Draupadī when they arrive for the game of dice. She again led the Kuru women to protest against Draupadī being dragged to the assembly and wail loudly calling out to Bhairava when Duḥśāsana was attempting to disrobe her (2.81.19-20). She also warned her husband on Duryodhana's obscene gestures to Draupadī. She requested him to excommunicate Duryodhana and prohibit another game of dice — *mad-vacanāt tyājatam kula-praṇāśnaḥ* (ibid. 75.1-8). But her requests fell on deaf ears of the blind Dhṛtarāṣṭra (ibid. 11). Vyāsa refers to her here as *dharma-darśinī* (knower of truth or righteousness).

2. Udyogaparva shows Dhṛtarāṣṭra's charioteer Sañjaya delivering the message of the Pāṇḍavas in the assembly and insisting on the presence of Gāndhārī and Vyāsa

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at that time. Duryodhana was asked to take refuge in Kṛṣṇa which he vehemently declined. Gāndhārī was asked to advise and reprimand her son (5.69.9-10). When Duryodhana rudely left the assembly insulting Kṛṣṇa, it was Gāndhārī — exceedingly wise (*mahā-prajñā)* and with deep foresight (*dīrgha-darśinī)* (ibid. 129.2) who was called in to bring her son on the right path and avert the impending calamity on the Kurus. She expressed her firm opinion that an unrighteous person like her son could not rule the kingdom (ibid. 10cd). She openly told her husband that though Duryodhana was influenced by desire, wrath and lust, he was being wrongly supported by Dhṛtarāṣṭra (ibid. 10-14). Use of the means of conciliation could still avert the disaster — a suggestion which proved political and diplomatic acumen, yet simultaneously righteous inclination to solve the deadlock (ibid.19-54).

This entire piece of Gāndhārī's speech projects her as an intelligent, wise, reliable, authoritative, diplomatic with righteous and ethical approach. Her clear thinking, boldness and fearlessness are seen in her advice to her son to hand over the rightful share of the kingdom to the Pāṇḍavas. She denounced her son's incompetence and unrighteousness in retaining their wealth (ibid. 48) and that *dharma* was on the side of the Pāṇḍavas (ibid. 52).

This advice impresses any reader initially. But Kṛṣṇa sees through this righteous approach of Gāndhārī. When Kṛṣṇa reported this to Yudhiṣṭhira, however, we see that He clearly read the motive behind it as the fear of the impending extinction of the Kauravas in the impending war . . . it is not just righteousness (ibid.148.28). However, He appreciated Gāndhārī's proclamation of her husband's regency to the throne, Vidura's subordination to him and further, their subordination to Bhīṣma; here Duryodhana had no place whatsoever. She further decisively said that Hastināpura belonged to Pāṇḍu and his descendants; it could be ruled by Yudhiṣṭhira with her husband being only at the helm of affairs (ibid. 30-33).

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- Śalyaparva shows her overwhelmed by grief and anger with fiery mental wrath capable of reducing the Pāṇḍavas to ashes (9.62.45; 63.12.24). Gāndhārī exhibited awareness of herself and attributed this unstable condition of her mind to grief (ibid. 65.66).

- Strīparva shows deeply aggrieved Gāndhārī waiting to curse Yudhiṣṭhira due to the loss of Duryodhana and her sons — an evil intention for which Veda Vyāsa himself reached there to appease her wrath with forgiveness (11.14.6-7). He shrewdly reminded of her blessings to her son for all the eighteen days of the war — *yato dharmastato jayaḥ* (where there is righteousness there lies victory) (ibid. 8-9). Vyāsa then diplomatically recalled her of her inner strength and that her words never proved false as her intention always was the well-being of all creatures (ibid. 9-10). Hence she ought to restrain herself from *adharma* in the form of inflicting a curse on the Pāṇḍavas and gracefully accept Duryodhana's and her sons' death (ibid. 14-18). Bhīma reminded her of her weakness — of her failure in checking her sons for which the Pāṇḍavas could not be blamed (ibid. 20).

- However we again find here the human aspect of Gāndhārī jealously comparing all her sons being dead in an unrighteous manner and all the five Pāṇḍavas emerging unscathed in the war (ibid.21-23). It was indeed a feeble and helpless cry of a total loss of all that was dear to her. However she punished Yudhiṣṭhira by looking at his toe through her bandage which was instantly deformed (ibid. 29-30). But thereafter she regained her calm and composure (ibid. 32ab).

The truth was that she could have been successful in persuading Duryodhana right from the beginning despite her bandage — her eyes in the form of discriminative intelligence were not closed, and she could have saved her husband also from succumbing to the weakness

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of giving in to evil intentions of his son and lifelong frustration with reference to inheritance. Thereby Vyāsa is pointing at Gāndhārī's human weakness, jealousy, but simultaneously portrays her feeble attempts to proclaim righteous path for her husband and sons in extreme moments. Vyāsa's constant assertion of her expertise in polity is a suggestion for the readers to pick up that Gāndhārī was capable of stopping this destruction of her family if she was firmly determined to do so. But as seen at the time of her pregnancy her same weakness could have forced her to resort to abortion by herself out of frustration. Kṛṣṇa also reminded her of her deviation from the use of discriminative intelligence and silenced her (ibid. 26.1-6).

Her sympathy for Draupadī can be seen in her consolation by mutual comparison and accept the inevitable (ibid. 44, 42). However we may see the vast difference between these two powerful female characters — Draupadī forgave Aśvatthāmā who killed all her sons while Gāndhārī did not — she had to be reminded of her own words by Vyāsa!

Towards the end she leaves for the *vānaprasthāśrama* and die in the forest fire with Dhṛtarāṣṭra, Kuntī and Vidura.

Thus it is very clear that Gāndhārī as a mother figure laid down the destiny of the destruction of the Kuru race in a very subtle way despite her intelligence, morality and righteousness; desire prompted her towards the contrary course of action. As a striking case full of conflicts of inner desires and losses she presents a very interesting study from the modern point of view as well.

Modern literary writers read in between the lines of the epic poets and also use their own imaginations to recreate and highlight the outstanding female epic characters deriving inspiration from the texts. However, this trend is already evident in Sanskrit literature itself from ancient times beginning with Bhāsa who recreated or reinterpreted Kaikeyī and Duryodhana. This fact needs to be presented before the world, namely, its existence and highly aesthetic presentations are a contribution of ancient India.

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11

Depiction of Indian Culture in Sanskrit Inscriptions of Cambodia

C. Upender Rao

Introduction

CAMBODIA is officially known as Kingdom of Cambodia which is one of the environmentally rich countries of Southeast Asia. Cambodia and India keep a long relation from ancient time. The arrival of Indian scholars had improved the Cambodian culture. In ancient period Cambodia was known as Kambujadeśa. Īśānapura was its capital in the seventh century CE. But from ninth to thirteenth centuries the Aṅgkor Empire had flourished with its new capital Yaśodharapura near the present-day Siem Reap. Cambodia has the magnificent past. The only reliable source to know its history is the stone inscriptions, and luckily most of them were collected and preserved during the French rule in Cambodia. The language used in most of these stone inscriptions, was Sanskrit, which was widely used in India and preserved during that period. These Sanskrit inscriptions, are the real sources to reconstruct the history of Cambodia. The inscriptions in ancient Kambuja constitute the most valuable information of Sanskrit and Sanskrit-based Indian culture; they serve like epigraphic records of India. They are the only evidences for recognizing the flourishing period of Sanskrit language and literature in Cambodia which is situated far off from India. They suggest about the survival of Indian language and culture for more than 800 years. A large number of Sanskrit inscriptions have been found all over Cambodia from fifth to fourteenth century CE.

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A number of Sanskrit inscriptions published as far back as 1885 and many others came to the notice of scholars from time to time especially after the foundation of the "Ecole Francaise d'Extreme orient" in 1900. But for many years, scholars, mainly Indians were unaware of this fact. Ironically, the study of ancient Indian culture in Southeast Asia is still in its infancy in India. This happened mainly due to the fact that the researches of recent past, ongoing and other information which gained momentum during the French rule were mainly disseminated in French and other foreign languages like Dutch and these languages are not known to most of the Indian scholars. The other reason being the lack of well-established academic relations between Southeast Asia and India may be due to the political compulsions of many countries, especially of Cambodia in Southeast Asia. The only popularly known foreign language in India is English, in which a little information was available about the Southeast Asia, till some years ago.

The Subject Matter of Inscriptions

Most of the Sanskrit inscriptions found in Kambuja are Śaivaite in character but some belong to Vaiṣṇava and a few of them belong to Buddhist texts also, though it sounds surprising as Buddhism is the main religion in Cambodia now. Indeed, these inscriptions prove the association of Hindu traditions with the royal families of Cambodia. We must understand that all these Sanskrit inscriptions were basically prepared by the Royal families and therefore obviously Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism were the significant themes of these inscriptions.

Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism

All Sanskrit inscriptions of Kambuja reveal the Indian culture and civilizations in all aspects. When Indian teachers and kings reached and settled in Kambuja in first century CE, the local people were almost semi-savages without wearing their clothes, but gradually Indian social and religious ideas were deeply implanted in them. They started worshipping Śiva, Viṣṇu and the Buddha. The interesting fact is that they worshipped Viṣṇu and the Buddha side

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by side, and this system continues even today in Cambodia. Many religious sects of India like Bhāgavata, Pāñcarātra and Pāśupata were prevalent in Cambodia. The *devadāsī* system and the caste system were also there. Vedāṅgas and Upavedas and other Vedic literature were studied in Kambuja. The adaptation of purely Indian names was prevalent among not only kings and nobles but also among common people of the society.

The Bayon Temple inscriptions dated 546 CE engraved on a single face of a sandstone stele contains twelve Sanskrit verses composed in Vaṁśastha, Upajāti, Vaitālikā and Anuṣṭubh meters. The inscription records the pious works of a brāhmaṇa named Vidyāvindu who was a grandson of Dhruva (Barth calls him *vidyādivindvanta*) and grandson of Dhruva Puṇyakīrti.[1] The complete rendering of this inscription is not available as some fragments of verses were dilapidated. But the word *dhruva puṇyakīrti* appears to be an epithet.

The Sdokak thom stele inscription of King Udayādityavarman is historically an important inscription among all Kambuja inscriptions. It relates the history and religious foundation of a priestly family for two centuries and a half (802–1052 CE) and incidentally gives account of various things of this priestly family and the details starting from Jayavarman II to Udayādityavarman II. This inscription was edited by Finot.[2] The temple Sdokak Thom is 15 miles away to the north-west of Sisophon. The inscription contains 192 lines in Sanskrit, 29 lines in Khmer followed by 2 lines in Sanskrit and 117 lines in Khmer. The Sanskrit text consists of 110 verses; the meters which were used to compose this inscription are Śloka, Indravajrā, Upendravajrā, Mālinī, etc. Several facts can be known by the intense study of this inscription and several names of Hindu gods can be found in it. The inscription starts with the salutation to God Śiva —*namaḥ śivāyāstu yadātmabhāvo* . . .. In verse

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1 *dvijātisūnurdvijasattamasya dhruvasya napta dhruvapuṇyakīrteḥ*—verse 7.
vidyādivindvanta-gruhītanāmnā tenaikatanena śubha-kriyāsu—verse 8.

2 In *BEFEO*, XV(2), p. 53 and Aymonier (II.250).

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4 it also mentions of God Viṣṇu:

lakṣmīpatirvvo'vatu yasya lakṣmīrvakṣasthitā kaustubha-bhūṣaṇāya
snihyāmi sālhaḥ kaṭhinasvabhāveṣvapyāśriteḥvyatra sadeti nūnam[3]

His majesty Paramaśivāloka founded the town of Yaśodharapura and took the royal guard from there to Hariharālaya. Then the king erected the central mountain Vāmaśiva, the preceptor installed the *liṅga* in it with the aid of royal service and informed the king. He was anxious to make another foundation and requested the king to grant him a land in Varṇavijaya close to Bhadragiri which belonged to Steṅañ *rudrācārya*. He founded their villages called Bhadrapaṭṭaṇa and Bhadrāvāsa. The king gave him the *liṅga* more than two cubits high of the central mountain to be installed at Bhadrapaṭṭaṇa. He also gave an image of Bhagavatī which was installed in the country of Bhadrāvāsa in the land of Bhadrapaṭṭaṇa.[4] In the kingdom of Śrī Sūryavarman interestingly, he installed the images of Śaṅkara (Lord Śiva), Śārṅgī (Viṣṇu) and Sarasvatī (goddess of education) in Bhadrapaṭṭaṇa following the rules of Sanskrit scriptures, and worshipped them for a long period.[5]

In this way the entire Sdokak Thom stele inscription of Udayādityavarman is full of the descriptions of various Hindu gods and goddesses and Tantrism and the use of actual tāntric texts which are well known in India.

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3 Sdokak thom stele inscription of King Udayādityavarman, verse 4.

4 *sa bhadrapaṭṭaṇabhikhye tatra bhūmyam kṛte pure ।*
kṣoṇīndraḥ sthāpayāmāsa gurvartham liṅgamaiśvaram ॥ — verse 45

sa bhogam pradadou tasmai karaṇka-kalaśādikam ।
gavādidraviṇam bhūri dāsadāsi-śatadvayam ॥ — verse 46

sa bhadrapaṭṭaṇa-kṣoṇyām bhadrāvāsapure kṛte ।
nyadhānnimāṁ sarasvatyaḥ śivāśrama udāradhīḥ ॥ — verse 48

pure tatra kṛte liṅgamaiśvaraḥ sa kṛtīśvaraḥ ।
sthāpayāmāsa vidhinā dhanyadīḥ kulabhūtaye ॥ — verse 50

5 *śrīsūryavarmaṇo rājye so 'rccāḥ śaṅkara-śārṅgiṇoḥ ।*
sarasvatyāśca vidhinā nidadhe bhadrapaṭṭaṇe ॥ — verse 60

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Literary Aspects

Sanskrit inscriptions were found in many countries but the Sanskrit inscriptions found in Kambuja are indeed the extraordinary compositions as they were written in a beautiful and almost matured impeccable Sanskrit *kāvya* style. It is not difficult to understand the Sanskrit scholarship of Sanskrit scholars, who were living in Kambuja, and their thorough acquaintance with different meters of Sanskrit poetics and most developed rules and conventions of rhetoric and prosody. The Vat Thipedi inscription of Īśānavarman II dated 832 CE is a fine example for this.[6] The Vat Thipedi (Adhipathi in Sanskrit) is a name of a small temple in the district of Siem Reap. This inscription is written in Sanskrit and contains 19 verses in it.

After invocation of Śiva, Viṣṇu, Brahmā and Umā, it continues a eulogy of King Yaśovarman (he ascended the throne in 811 CE) and of his two sons, Harṣavarman I and Īśānavarman II. These three kings had a highly honoured, learned ascetic named Śikhāśiva whose learning and virtues are highly described in this inscription.[7]

This Vat Thipedi inscription of Īśānavarman II offers a good specimen of Gauḍī style (*gauḍī-rīti* of Sanskrit poetics). The French scholar G. Coedes had regarded the author to be the inhabitant of Gauḍa region. The exquisite *kāvya* style can be found in the following verses of the inscriptions:

namo 'naṅgāṅga-nirbhaṅgasaṅgine 'pi virāgiṇe ।
aṅganāpaghanāliṅga-līnārdhāṅgāya śambhave ॥ — verse 1
pātu vaḥ puṇḍarīkakṣavakṣo-vikṣiptakaustubham ।
lakṣmīstanamukhāklisṭa-kaṣaṇakṣāma-cāndanam ॥ — verse 2
Bodadhva-dhvāntasa rodha-vinirdhūta-prajādhiye ।
dhvānta-dhvad-dvedanādarddhi-medhase vedhase namaḥ ॥ — verse 3

In eastern Baray stele inscription of Yaśovarman, we can find figures of speech used in many verses, e.g. one of the verses of

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6 The inscription was edited by G. Coedes in "Melange Sylvain Levi", p. 213 and noticed by Ayemonier (II.379).

7 Verses 1-5.

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this inscription explains the composer's profound knowledge of Sanskrit poetics.

krodhādivahnayoyasya na manākśekurīkṣitum ।
tannivāseśvaraśiro-gaṅgāraya-bhayādiva ॥

Which means the fires of anger, etc. could not venture to disturb the mind of Śiva as if they are afraid by the waters of River Ganges which is on his head. Here, we can find a figure of speech named Utprekṣā. According to Sanskrit poetics the words; *manye, śaṅke* reveal Utprekṣā and the words *iva* also is capable of revealing Utprekṣā.[8]

King Yaśovarman was described as a conqueror of poet Pravarasena. The poet Pravarasena and his famous Prākṛt poem, *Setubandha* are very phenomenal in Indian Prākṛt Literature. By this we can understand that not only Sanskrit even Prākṛt has entered from India into Kambuja.[9]

Vedic Literature

In Pre Rup stele inscription of Rājendravarman dated 883 CE (ed. G. Coedes) (IC-73) one can find many references of Vedic scriptures. It testifies to an intimate knowledge of literature on the part of the author. Apart from allusion to epic and Purāṇic legends and mythology there are evident references to *Atharvaveda, Rāmāyaṇa, Mahābhārata* and Pāṇini. One of the verses reveals the knowledge of *Atharvaveda* which its composer possessed.

vyatītavatyām śaradi-krameṇa diścakravālāttadavāptalakṣmyā ।
hemanta-lakṣmīrabhiṣektumāsaḍ yamyogyamātharvaṇikīva-siddhiḥ.... — verse 94

Likewise, Vedas, Vendāṅgas and Upāṅgas were mentioned in various verses of Sanskrit inscriptions of Kambuja.

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8 *manye śaṅke dhruvaṁ prāyaḥ nūnamityevamādibhiḥ* ।
utprekṣā vyajyate śabdaiḥ iva śabdo 'pi tādṛśaḥ ॥

9 *yenapravarasenena dharmasetum vivṛṇvatā* ।
paraḥ pravaraseno 'pi jitaḥ prākṛta-setukṛt ॥ — verse 34

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Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata

In the same Pre Rup stele inscription of Rājendravarman dated 883 CE we can find the references of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*. The enemies of the king were afraid like the demon Mārīca was afraid of Rāma.[10] In another verse of the same inscription the legend of the *Mahābhārata* can be found. In this verse all important names of warriors of the *Mahābhārata* are revealed like Yudhiṣṭhira, Bhīṣma and Duryodhana.[11] Also a subsequent verse reveals the legend of *Mahābhāratha*.[12]

Purāṇas

The Pre Rup stele inscription of Rājendravarman dated 883 CE reveals the knowledge of Purāṇas in many places describing the qualities of the King Rājendravarman. The author of the inscription says that in which way Lord Kṛṣṇa had protected the cows by lifting a mountain named Govardhana steadily in the same way the king had ruled the earth.[13]

Vyākaraṇa

Vyākaraṇa, the science of grammar, is considered to be the most important sciences in ancient India (*prathame hi vidvāṁso vaiyākaraṇāḥ*, etc. — Ānandavardhana in the 1st Udyota of *Dhvanyāloka*). The Pre Rup stele inscription of Rājendravarman dated 883 CE also gives the profound knowledge of Sanskrit grammar of its composer. Describing the qualities of the king, the poet says:

nakevalam padavidhou yadvāgvarṇṇa-vidhāvapi ।

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10 *mārīca iva rāmasya nāmādyekākśarāśravā* ।
yasyārirājo vīro 'pi jagāmānanyajām bhiyam ॥ — verse 207

11 Verse 83 of Pre Rup stele inscription of Rājendravarman dated 883 CE.

12 Ibid., verse 85.

13 *gomaṇḍalasyopakṛtiñcikīrṣu-runmūlayan-bhūmibhṛtam bhujena* ।
govarddhanam kṛṣṇa ivāspade yo bhūyassvakāye kṛtvānukampyam ॥
— verse 86

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vyāpṛtā nopameyaiva samartha-paribhāṣayā ॥[14]

In this verse the poet describes the method of ruling of the king giving the example of the *Paribhāṣāsūtra* of grammar. This inscription begins with the eulogy of Lord Śiva, Brahmā, Vāsudeva and Nārāyaṇa.

The Sdokak thom stele inscription of Udayādityavarman (ed. Finote) is consisted of 130 Sanskrit verses composed in various meters. is. Some of the meters used in this inscription are Śloka, Indravajrā, Upendravajrā, Mālinī, Aupacchandaśikā, Vasantatilakā, Puṣpitāgrā and Samavṛttā. Likewise, Pre Rup stele inscription of Rājendravarman also consists of many Sanskrit meters such as Vaṁśasthā, Upajāti, Vasantatilakā, Mandākrāntā, Śārdūlavikrīḍitā, Sragdharā and Āryā.

The four Eastern Baray inscriptions of King Yaśovarman were written in north Indian script. Each one of these inscriptions contains 108 verses. They have many parameters of *āśramas* in which fresh arrivals from India lived and they were not acquainted with the local script of Kambuja and therefore they followed their own script. Such migrations were depicted in several inscriptions.[15]

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14 Verse 209 of Pre Rup stele inscription of Rājendravarman, dated 883 CE.

15 See the Prah Bat stele inscription of Yaśovarman dated 811 CE, Prah Einkosei inscription of Jayavarman V, dated 890 and 892 CE, Prasat kok Po inscription of Jayavarman VI, dated 1018 CE, etc.

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12

फ़ारसी कथा-परम्परा और आरब्ययामिनी

राधावल्लभ त्रिपाठी

विंटरनित्स का कथन है कि संसार में अन्य किसी जाति के पास कदाचित् इतना समृद्ध कथा साहित्य नहीं है जितना भारतीयों के पास है। भारतवर्ष कथा की जन्मभूमि तथा कहानी का आदि-देश कहा जा सकता है। मनुष्य ने जिस क्षण इस देश की धरती पर पहली बार पाँव रखा होगा, कदाचित् उसी समय से कहानी का भी प्रचलन हमारे यहाँ हुआ होगा। अपने आप को पुनः रचने और विस्तारित करने की कामना सृष्टि के मूल में है। यह कामना अनादि काल से मनुष्य के भीतर भी रही है। इस कामना के साथ मनुष्य में सम्प्रेषण की इच्छा सदा रहती है। यह आत्मविस्तार और आत्मसम्प्रेषण ही आख्यान की जन्मभूमि है। शैलाश्रयों में प्रागैतिहासिक चित्रों में आख्यान का एक प्रारूप मिलता है।

निःसन्देह आख्यान की एक वाचिक परम्परा उपलब्ध लिखित साहित्य के कई हजार वर्ष पूर्व विकसित हो चुकी थी। गुणाढ्य की बृहत्कथा में इस परम्परा के नमूने देखे जा सकते हैं। यह परम्परा कदाचित् एशिया के अन्य देशों में फैली, जिससे एशियाई कथा की शैलियाँ विकसित हुई। इन शैलियों का परिगणन इस प्रकार किया जा सकता है —

(1) शंखवलय-शैली — शंख पर बने वलय जिस प्रकार इसके वृत्त पर आगे-पीछे घूमते हुए भी ऊपर की ओर बढ़ते हैं, उसी प्रकार कथा का चक्र वर्तमान से अतीत में जाता है, अतीत से फिर वर्तमान में आकर फिर आगे बढ़ता है। मूलबृहत्कथा की सब कथाएँ इसी शंखवलयात्मक संरचना में समाहित होती गई होंगी — ऐसा अनुमान किया जा सकता है।

(2) मञ्जूषागर्भ-शैली — एक मञ्जूषा या सन्दूक के भीतर दूसरी, दूसरी के भीतर तीसरी और तीसरी के भीतर चौथी — इस प्रकार कई मञ्जूषाएँ क्रमशः रख दी जाएं और उन्हें एक-एक करके खोला जाए, उसी प्रकार एक कथा के भीतर दूसरी, दूसरी के भीतर तीसरी इस तरह कहानियाँ कही जाती हैं, तो मञ्जूषागर्भ-शैली बनती है। बृहत्कथा के दीर्घ रूपान्तरों — बृहत्कथामञ्जरी तथा कथासरित्सागर में इस शैली का प्रयोग अधिक हुआ है।

(3) शृंखला-शैली — जिस तरह एक शृंखला या जंजीर में एक कड़ी से दूसरी कड़ी जोड़-जोड़कर एक लम्बी शृंखला बनाई जाती है उसी तरह एक कथा से दूसरी जुड़कर बृहत्कथा बनती है।

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(4) मुक्ताहार-शैली — जिस तरह एक हार या माला में कई मोती पिराए जाते हैं उसी तरह एक कथासूत्र में अनेक कथाएं गूँथकर आख्यान या बड़ी कथा रची जाती है।

ये आख्यान की भारतीय शैलियाँ हैं, जो एशिया के अन्य देशों की कथा-परम्परा में भी संक्रान्त हुई हैं। इनके अतिरिक्त कहानी को कहने या लिखने की एकरेखीय — शैली भी है, जिसमें कहानी एक काल-क्रम में सीधे आगे बढ़ती है। यह शैली आज के यथार्थवादी साहित्य में या योरोप की परम्परा में अधिक देखी जा सकती है।

छठी शताब्दी के पूर्वार्द्ध में ईरान के बादशाह अनुशेरवाँ (५३१-७९ ई.) के आदेश से पञ्चतन्त्र का अनुवाद पहलवी भाषा में किया गया। ५७० ई. में सीरियाई भाषा में इसका अनुवाद हुआ। अरब देशों की कथा परम्परा अवश्य थी। किस्सागोई या दास्ताँ खाड़ी के देशों में प्राचीनकाल से समानान्तर रूप से फलती-फूलती रही होगी। इसीलिए संस्कृत के कथा-ग्रन्थों के फ़रसी में अनुवाद तो हुए ही, फ़रसी सीखकर संस्कृत के कवियों ने फ़रसी के कथा-ग्रन्थों के भी बडी संख्या में संस्कृत में अनुवाद किए। अनुवादों की इस पारस्परिकता से एक एशिया की एक कथा परम्परा का विकास हुआ।

आरब्ययामिनी फ़रसी से संस्कृत में अनूदित कथा-ग्रन्थों में एक कड़ी है। इसके पहले फ़ारसी से संस्कृत में अनूदित या रूपान्तरित कतिपय कथा-ग्रन्थ इस प्रकार हैं —

कथाकौतुकम्

कथाकौतुकम् पारसी के एक कथा-ग्रन्थ नूरुद्दीन अब्दुर्रहमान मुहम्मद जामी (१४१४-९२) द्वारा रचित मसनवी काव्य यूसुफ़-जुलैख़ा का अनुवाद काश्मीरक कवि श्रीवर द्वारा किया गया अनुवाद है। कवि का नाम किसी-किसी हस्तलिखित प्रति में श्रीधर भी मिलता है। नूरुद्दीन अब्दुर्रहमान मुहम्मद जामी अफ़गानिस्तान के निवासी थे तथा तैमूर के चाचा सुल्तान अबूसईद के आश्रय में रहे। मूल कथाकृति की रचना के तुरन्त बाद उसका काश्मीर में प्रचार होना और श्रीवर के द्वारा उसका संस्कृत अनुवाद में प्रवृत्त होना फ़ारसी व संस्कृत के कवियों के बीच उस समय आदान-प्रदान की जीवन्त परम्परा का बोधक है। कथाकौतुकम् की रचना १४५१ ई. में पूरी हुई।

श्रीवर ने ही जोनराज के अनन्तर कल्हण की राजतरंगिणी की परम्परा में राजतरंगिणी के ही नाम से इतिहास के ग्रन्थ का भी निर्माण किया था। कथाकौतुकम् में उन्होंने जोनराज को अपना गुरु बताया है। जोनराज सुल्तान ज़ैन-उल्-आबदीन (१४१७-६७ ई.) के समकालीन थे। श्रीवर भारतीय शास्त्र परम्परा के तो प्रकाण्ड पण्डित थे ही, फ़ारसी भाषा तथा इस्लाम की परम्पराओं का भी उन्हें अच्छा ज्ञान था। जोनराज तथा श्रीवर दोनों ने ज़ैन-उल्-आबदीन (१४१७-७३) की राजसभा में पण्डित के रूप में प्रतिष्ठा प्राप्त की। श्रीवर को कथाकौतुकम् के प्रणयन में ज़ैन-उल्-आबदीन के पौत्र मुहम्मद शाही की ओर से प्रोत्साहन मिला। अपनी कृति के प्रारम्भ में उन्होंने मुहम्मद शाही के प्रति शुभकामना व्यक्त करते हुए लिखा है —

जीयान्महामदः शाहिर्धर्मप्रवरगर्वितः ।
श्रीमान् कश्मीरभूपालः फुल्लराजीवलोचनः ॥

इसने अपने पिता की भाँति ही गो-वध को प्रतिबन्धित किया था। कथाकौतुकम् की प्रस्तावना से ये

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बातें प्रमाणित होती हैं —

प्रीत्यै तु गोसहस्रस्य येन धर्मपुरेण च ।
ज्ञात्वा पूर्वपदार्थैक्यं वधाद् गावो विमोचिताः।

इस कारण काव्यमाला के सम्पादकों शिवदत्त तथा काशीनाथ शर्मा का यह मत अग्राह्य है कि कथा-कौतुककार श्रीवर राजतरंगिणीकार श्रीवर से भिन्न हैं। श्रीवर स्वयं कहते हैं कि वे जोनराज के शिष्य हैं, और सुल्तान ज़ैन-उल्ल्-आबदीन की प्रसन्नता के लिए युसुफ़-ज़ुलैख़ा का अनुवाद कर रहे हैं।

मलाज्यामेन योसेहजोलेखा नाम विश्रुतः ।
रचितोऽप्यद्भुतः पूर्वग्रन्थो देवमुखोद्गतः ॥
तस्मिन् मया पण्डितजोनकाख्यं नत्वा गुरुं पण्डितश्रीवरेण ।
भूपालतुष्टौ सुरलोकवाण्यारम्भोऽध्वनाकारि मनोहरोऽयम् ॥

कथाकौतुकम् की योजना पन्द्रह कौतुकों (अध्यायों) में की गई है। श्रीवर ने दावा किया है कि वे मुल्ला जामी के मूल ग्रन्थ में जैसा क्रम है, उन्होंने उसका पूर्णतः अनुपालन किया है —

क्रमेण येन भेदार्थो मलाज्यामेन वर्णितः ।
तेनैव हि मया सोऽयं श्लोकेनाद्य निरूप्यते ॥ — ककौ. १.३

कथा में सुल्तान कैमूर की कन्या जोलेख़ा (ज़ुलैख़ा) और मिस्र के बादशाह याकोभ (याकूब) के बेटे येसोभ (युसुफ़) के प्रेम का सरस वृत्तान्त है। अनेक अद्भुत और अतिप्राकृत घटनाएँ भी इस में वर्णित हैं। जोलेखा याकोभ को स्वप्न में देखती है। उसके विवाह के लिए अनेक राजकुमारों के सन्देश आते हैं, पर वह याकोभ के प्रेम में दीवानी है, और उससे मिलने मिस्र देश चल देती है।

हिन्दी में युसुफ-ज़ुलेख़ा की कथा पर पहला काव्य शेख निसार ने युसुफ-ज़ुलेखा नाम से 1790 ई. में लिखा। 1929 में आचार्य रामचन्द्र शुक्ल ने हिन्दी शब्दसागर की भूमिका में इसकी ओर ध्यान आकर्षित किया। मूल प्रति फारसी लिपि में थी, जिसके सम्पादन के लिए 1929 ई. से 2005 के बीच अनेक प्रयास किए गए। सत्यप्रकाश त्रिपाठी के द्वारा सम्पादित सम्पूर्ण संस्करण 2005 में साहित्य संस्कृति संस्थान, फैजाबाद से प्रकाशित हुआ।

सुलैमच्चरित

अनन्गरंग नामक प्रसिद्ध कामशास्त्र ग्रन्थ के प्रणेता कल्याणमल्ल (सोलहवीं शताब्दी) ने सुलैमच्चरित[1] में अयोध्या के शासक लाडखान का गुणगान करते हुए सुलेमान और दाऊद (बाइबिल में डेविड और सालोमन) की कथा लिखी है।

काव्य के प्रारम्भ में कल्याणमल्ल ने अयोध्यापति अहमदखान की तथा उसके पुत्र लाडखान की प्रशंसा की है। रचना अत्यन्त कौतुकवर्धन व आद्यन्त अद्भुत रस से परिप्लुत है। कल्याणमल्ल ने अपनी कथा-शैली में आख्यान का उज्ज्वल रूप समाहित कर लिया है। आरम्भ में उन्होंने लाडखान तथा स्वयं के बीच हुए सम्वाद से इस प्रकार किया है —

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[1] इसके चार पटल डी राघवन् ने मलयमारुत के तृतीय स्पन्द (1793) में प्रकाशित किए हैं।

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कामसिद्धान्तविद्वांश्च कामिनीनां मनोहरः।
लाडखान इति ख्यातो लालित्य गुणमण्डितः।
स कदाचित् समासीनः सभायां सह पण्डितैः।
कथाभिरभिरामाभिरितिहासैः पुरातनैः।
शास्त्रवादैः कलावादैर्धातुवादैरनेकशः।
विद्विद्विशेषं विज्ञाय दानमानादिभिश्च तान्।
सम्भावयन् समासीनो महापुरुषसत्कथाम्।
श्रोतुकामस्तदा सूरिमण्डले स्वाश्रितं बुधम्।
पपृच्छ कविराजेन्द्रं काव्यनिर्माणकौशलम्।
कल्याणमल्लनामानं कविसंस्तुत्यवाङ्मयम्।
त्वमस्मदास्तानकविस्सर्वशास्त्रार्थपारगः।
पुरा ह्यनङ्गरङ्गाख्यं कलाशास्त्रं कलास्पदम्।
गीर्वाणभाषया विद्वन् मानसानन्ददायकम्।
कृतवानसि मत्प्रीत्यै बन्धुरं लोकसुन्दरम्।
इदानीमपि सद्विद्वच्छलाघ्यं सर्वार्थगोचरम्।
सुलैमच्चरित ब्रूहि चित्रं गीर्वाणभाषया।
दावूदुतनयो विद्वान् सुलैमान् ज्ञानविग्रहः।
द्वापरान्ते च कल्यादौ म्लेच्छवंशे महातपाः।।14।।
समुत्पतन् सप्तसुतागर्भाब्धौ चन्द्रमा इव।
तस्य जन्म च तद्वृत्तं तत्पितुश्च महोदयम्।।15।।
कथय श्रोत्रघ्नं तत् परमानन्ददायकम्।।16

कल्याणमल्ल इस प्रकार कथारम्भ करते हैं —

पुरा दावुदुरखिलामिलामेकोऽनुपालयन्
पुरन्दर इव 18

दावूद के राज्य पर पार्वतीय राजा आक्रमण करता है। दावूद अपने सेनापति जयावह को बारह वीरों के साथ उससे संग्राम के लिए भेजता है। उधर युद्ध चल रहा है, इधर दावूद कुड्यरन्ध्र से एक मायाविनी सुरूपा नारी को देखता है। रूप का वर्णन कल्याणमल्ल ने रुचिपूर्वक किया है —

विचित्राभरणोपेतां नीलबन्धुरमूर्धजाम्।
कुन्तलाञ्चिफालान्तां बिम्बोष्ठीं कन्दुकस्तनीम्।
कुन्दकुड्मलसंकाशसरदश्रेणीविराजिताम्।
पद्मपत्रविशालीक्षीं पद्मिनी पद्मसौरभाम्।
कौसुम्भाम्बरविभ्राजत् कमनीयतनूलताम्।।
नेत्रानन्दकरं मारदाररूपां मनोहराम्। — 38-41

दावूद उसे देखकर मोहित हो जाते हैं, पिर सँभलकर अपने आप को धिक्कारते हैं —

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परदाराभिमर्शाद्धि परं पङ्कं न विद्यते।
मलमूत्राध्वगे योषिज्जघनेऽपघने तथा।
श्लेष्मागारे मुखे मांसस्तवके च कुचद्वये।
निन्द्येऽनिन्द्य इवात्यर्थं किमर्थं मम मानसम्।।
प्रविष्टं मोहितं चाद्य न जानाम्यत्र कारणम्।। — 53-56

परन्तु उनका मन व्याकुल बना रहता है। अगले दिन दावूद उसी रमणी को सरोवर पर स्नान करती हुई देखते हैं। सौन्दर्य वर्णन में विलास और रसिकता की पराकाष्ठा कल्याणमल्ल ने यहाँ कर दी है। यह ऊर्जस्वल नामक रमणी उस सेनापति की पत्नी है, जिसे दावूद ने युद्धभूमि में भेज रखा है। दावूद अपने मन की पीडा अपनी पत्नी सुखदा को बताते हैं। पत्नी उन्हें इस रमणी से मिलाने का यत्न करती है। परन्तु अपने पातिव्रत्य पर अडिग वह रमणी प्रस्ताव दृढ़ता से ठुकरा देती है। तब सुखदा उस रमणी की माँ के पास चली जाती है। माता अपनी ही पुत्री को दिग्भ्रमित करके राजा के पास ले जाती है। दावूद की परकीया रति के वर्णन में कल्याणमल्ल ने कामशास्त्र का सारा ज्ञान प्रकट कर दिया है। राजा को मनोवाञ्छित प्रिया के साथ रमण का सुख प्राप्त कराने के बदले में सुखदा अन्य रानी भोगिनी के पुत्र को सेनापति न बनने देने के अपने आग्रह को मनवा लेती है। सेनापति की भार्या गर्भवती हो जाती है और दावूद लोकापवाद से घबराकर उसके पति को युद्ध से वापस बुलवा लेता है। सेनापति ने तो प्रण कर रखा है कि शत्रु को मारे बिना वह पत्नी का मुख न देखेगा। यह जानकर दावूद सेनापति को फिर युद्ध में भेज देता है तथा अन्य सेनापति को ऊर्जस्वल को मरवाने के लिए नियोजित करता है। फिर मुनि के कहने पर वह उस पुत्र का भी प्रायश्चित्तपशु बना लेता है जो अवैध संसर्ग से जन्मा है। इधर ऊर्जस्वल की भी हत्या हो जाती है। दावूद सप्तसुता से पुनः समागम करता है, जिससे सुलेमान् का जन्म होता है।

दावूद और सुलेमान की बाद में भेंट होती है। यह कथा एशिया और योरोप के अनेक देशों में प्रचलित रही है।

देलरामाकथासार

यह कथा राजानक भृट्टाह्लादकवि ने लिखी है। इनका समय तथा देशकाल अनिर्णित है। कथा तेरह सर्गों में विविध छन्दों में निबद्ध है। कथा के आरम्भ में ही कवि ने बताया है कि यह कथा उसने मुसलमानों की परम्परा से ग्रहण की है —

एषा कथा मौसलशास्त्रदृष्टा भूयिष्ठसद्वाच्यमहाविशिष्टा।
मनोविनोदाय सतां जनानां गीर्वाणवाण्या क्रियते मयाद्य।।

कथा की नायिका देलरामा नामक धूर्त वेश्या है। नायक मुरादबख्श है। कथा अनेक रोमाञ्चक किन्तु अस्वाभाविक या प्राकृतेतर घटनाओं से भरी हुई है, तथा इसमें अनेक प्रसंग ऐसे हैं, जो भारतीय परम्परा और जीवनादर्शों के विपरीत हैं। संक्षेप में कथानक इस प्रकार है — सुल्तान महमूद पुलिन्दों के आक्रमण से मारा जाता है। उसकी पत्नी मेरभक्ता अपने दो बेटों को लेकर भागती है। उसे संयोग से ऐसी चिड़िया मिल जाती है, जो प्रतिदिन सोने का अण्डा देती है। मेरभक्ता का अन्य नगर में पहुँचकर एक वणिक् से प्रेम हो जाता है। उसके प्रेम में पड़कर वह अपने दोनों पुत्रों इब्राहिम और

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मुराद की हत्या करवाने और सोने का अण्डा देने वाली चिड़िया का माँस खिलाने को तैयार हो जाती है, संयोग से उस चिड़िया के पके माँस में से मुराद सोना उगलने वाली हड्डी खा लेता है, और जो हत्यारा दोनों भाइयों को मारने के लिए लगाया गया था, वह मुराद से दीनारें पाकर इन दोनों को छोड़ देता है। दोनों भाई भागकर अन्य नगर में पहुँचते हैं, जहाँ एक मस्जिद में मिलने का निश्चय करके वे अलग-अलग हो जाते हैं। घटनाचक्र इस प्रकार घूमता है कि इब्राहिम तो इस नगर का बादशाह हो जाता है और मुराद देलरामा वेश्या के चंगुल में पड़ जाता है। वह प्रतिदिन उसे दीनारें देते देख. कर एक दिन मदिरा पिलाकर उससे दीनार प्राप्ति का रहस्य जान लेती है और सोना उगलने वाली अस्थि वमन करा लेती है। देलरामा के घर से अपमान करके निकाला गया मुराद भटकता हुआ एक स्थान पर तीन पुरुषों को विवाद करते देखता है। वे एक उड़ने वाली स्थलस्था (कालीन), दीनारें देने वाली भस्त्रा (धौंकनी) और भोजन लाने वाले शुक के स्वामित्व को लेकर विवाद कर रहे हैं। मुराद को देखकर वे उसे निर्णायक बना लेते हैं। मुराद उन्हें मूर्ख बनाकर उनकी तीनों चमत्कारिक वस्तुएँ लेकर चम्पत हो जाता है, और फिर देलरामा के पास पहुँचता है। वह उड़ने वाले कालीन पर उसे बिठाकर समुद्र के बीच निर्जन द्वीप में ले आता है। वहाँ देलरामा कुछ दिन उसके साथ सुख से रहती है। लेकिन वह मुराद को फिर बहकाकर तीनों वस्तुओं का रहस्य जानकर उन्हें हथिया लेती है। और मुराद को उस द्वीप पर अकेला छोड़कर तीनों वस्तुओं के साथ निकल भागती है। अब मुराद को तीन योगिनियाँ मिलती हैं, जो उसे तीन चमत्कारिक वस्तुएँ दे देती हैं। वह देलरामा के घर आकर उन चमत्कारिक डण्डों में एक के प्रभाव से देलरामा को गधी बनाकर उस पर सवार होकर घूमता-फिरता है। अन्त में योगिनियों के कहने पर वह देलरामा को मुक्त करता है, और विवाह करके सुखपूर्वक रहने लगता है। देलरामा उसकी और उसकी पत्नी की दासी बन जाती है और अपने बड़े भाई से भी उसकी भेंट हो जाती है।

भट्टाह्लाद ने अत्यन्त जटिल घटनाबहुल कथा को रोचक रूप में प्रस्तुत किया है, कहीं भी वर्णनों या काव्यात्मकता को उन्होंने कथाप्रवाह में बाधक नहीं बनने दिया है। यद्यपि अनेक स्थलों पर सौन्दर्यचित्रण या वर्णनकला से उनकी कवित्व-शक्ति का पता चलता है। देलरामा के वर्णन में कवि कहता है —

लावण्यपाथोनिधिरत्नवीचिं तारुण्यहेमाद्रिहिरण्यवल्लीम् ।
सुकान्तिगंगानलिनीं प्रफुल्लां शृंगारमद्भूमिरुहालवालाम्।।

मसदा (मस्ज़िद), दन्तालिका (लगाम), स्थलस्था आदि अनेक नवीन शब्दों का निर्माण भी कथाकार ने किया है।

आरब्ययामिनी

फ़ारसी के कथा-साहित्य के अनुवादों की एक कड़ी आरब्ययामिनी है। यह अरब देशों की कथा-परम्परा के कदाचित् सबसे बड़े ग्रन्थ अलिफ-लैला का संस्कृत अनुवाद है।

आरब्ययामिनीकार का परिचय

आरब्ययामिनी के प्रणेता जगद्बन्धुभट्ट हैं। ये काकिना या काकिनीया रियासत के राजा शम्भुचन्द्र

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के आश्रय में रहे आरब्ययामिनी की हस्तलिखित प्रति का समय 1883 ई. है, दूसरी का 1891 के आसपास है। जगद्बन्धुभट्ट का समय इस आधार पर सत्रहवीं-अठारहवीं शताब्दी के आसपास कूता जा सकता है।

मूलकथा

अलिफ-लैला की कथा इस प्रकार है — अरब देश में सामाँ राजवंश में अत्यन्त प्रतापी सम्राट् शासन करते थे। उसके दो पुत्र हुए — शहरयार और शाहजमाँ । दोनों राजपुत्र अपनी वीरता और बुद्धिमत्ता के लिए दूर-दूर तक विख्यात थे। पिता की मृत्यु के पश्चात् बड़े भाई शहरयार ने उसका उत्तराधिकार पाया। उसने अपने छोटे भाई शाहजमाँ को समरकन्द प्रान्त का शासक बना दिया। वीस वर्ष तक दोनों सुख-शान्ति से राज्य करते रहे।

एक बार शहरयार ने अपने छोटे भाई समरकन्द के शासक शाहजमाँ को मिलने के लिए बुलाया। शाहजमाँ ने शासन की व्यवस्था अपने प्रधानमन्त्री को सौंप दी और बड़े भाई से मिलने के लिए चल दिया। रात को जब एक स्थान पर ठहरा तो उसे याद आया कि जो बहुमूल्य मोती बड़े भाई को भेंट में देने के लिए निकाले थे, वे महल में ही रह गए हैं। उसने उसी समय अपने दो गुलामों को साथ लिया और शहर लौट आया। रात्रि में परिजनों व अन्तःपुर के लोगों की निद्रा भंग न हो यह सोचकर वह चुपचाप अपने महल में चला गया। अपने शयनागार में जाकर उसने देखा कि उसकी बेग़म एक हब्शी गुलाम के साथ शयनकक्ष में उसके पलंग पर सो रही है। दुःख और क्रोध से उसने अपनी तलवार निकाल ली और उन दोनों को सोई हुई दशा में ही कत्ल करके चुपचाप महल से निकल गया। अपनी बेग़म की चरित्रहीनता और विश्वासघात से उसे इतना सदमा पहुँचा कि उसकी मानसिक स्थिति ठीक न रही। एक स्थायी दुःख और उदासी उसके तन-मन पर छा गई। यात्रा में वह कोशिश करता रहा कि अपनी बेग़म की दुश्चरित्रता और विश्वासघात को भूल जाए लेकिन उस दुखदायी घटना को भुला पाने में वह सफल नहीं हो सका।

अन्त में यात्रा समाप्त हो गई। वह अपने बड़े भाई के पास पहुँच गया। बड़े भाई शहरयार ने बड़े हर्ष और उल्लास के साथ उसका स्वागत किया और अपने विशेष महल में लाकर उसे ठहराया। महल में राजसी सुख-सुविधाओं की कोई कमी नहीं थी। सामान्य स्थिति में शायद शाहजमाँ को अत्यधिक प्रसन्नता होती लेकिन उस हादसे के कारण उसे सुख के समस्त साधन फीके दिखाई दे रहे थे। समस्त सुख-सुविधाओं और बड़े भाई के अत्यधिक स्नेह के बावजूद वह हर समय उदास रहने लगा। उसकी यह हालत देखकर बड़ा भाई शहरयार भी दुःखी रहने लगा।

एक दिन शहरयार ने शाहजमाँ से शिकार पर चलने के लिए कहा लेकिन तबियत ठीक न होने का बहाना करके उसने जाने से मना कर दिया। विवश होकर शहरयार अकेला ही शिकार खेलने चला गया।

शाहजमाँ अपने कमरे में बैठा बाग़ की ओर देख रहा था लेकिन पिछली घटना के कारण वह बेहद परेशान था। अचानक सामने महल का दरवाज़ा खुला, जो बाग़ की ओर था। शहरयार की मलिका उस दरवाजे से अपनी बीस दासियों के साथ निकली और बाग़ के उस हिस्से में चली गई, जहाँ आम लोगों की नज़रें नहीं पहुँच पाती थीं। वहाँ पहुँचकर उन दासियों ने अपने कपड़े उतारे

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तो शाहजमाँ आश्चर्यचकित रह गया। सभी दासियों को एक-एक हब्शी ने अपनी बगल में ले लिया। शहरयार की मलिका अकेली रह गई। कुछ देर बाद मलिका ने मसूद-मसूद कहकर आवाज़ दी। थोड़ी देर में ही एक हब्शी गुलाम आ गया और मलिका के साथ संभोग करने लगा। अन्य हब्शी गुलाम भी दासियों के साथ संभोग करने लगे। कुछ देर तक वे सब काम-क्रीड़ा में निमग्न रहे। फिर उन्होंने स्नान किया और जिस तरह आए थे, उसी तरह वापस चले गए।

इस घटना को देखकर शाहजमाँ को विश्वास हो गया कि विश्वासघात करना स्त्री का स्वभाव ही है और हर स्त्री अपने पति के साथ विश्वासघात करती है। उसने अपने आपको समझाया कि अपनी पत्नी के विश्वासघात सें वह हर वक्त दुःखी रहता है। संसार में जितने भी पुरुष हैं, सभी इस संकट से ग्रस्त हैं। यह सोचते ही वह सारा दुःख भूल गया और प्रसन्न रहने लगा। कुछ दिनों बाद शहरयार शिकार से वापस आया तो छोटे भाई को प्रसन्न देखकर उसे बड़ी प्रसन्नता हुई। उसने शाहजमाँ से कहा कि अब उसका दिल बहल गया है। अब वह प्रसन्न दिखाई दे रहा है, इस बात से उसे बड़ी खुशी हुई। उसने शाहजमाँ से पूछा कि आखिर इस परिवर्तन का कारण क्या है? जब शहरयार ने छोटे भाई पर अधिक ज़ोर डाला तो शाहजमाँ ने विवश होकर सारी घटना सुना दी।

यह सुनकर शहरयार परेशान हो उठा। बोला, जब तक मैं अपनी आँखों से नहीं देख लूँगा, इस बात पर विश्वास नहीं करूँगा। शाहजमाँ ने कहा कि अगर आप खुद अपनी आँखों से देखना चाहते हैं तो इस बात की घोषणा कर दीजिए कि आप कुछ दिनों के लिए बाहर जा रहे हैं। यहाँ से चल पड़िए लेकिन रात को चुपचाप आकर यहाँ छिप जाइए और आप सब-कुछ अपनी आँखों से देख लीजिए।

शहरयार ने छोटे भाई के स्वस्थ हो जाने की खुशी में शिकार पर जाने की घोषणा कर दी। दूसरे दिन दोनों भाई शहर से चल दिए लेकिन रात को छिपकर महल में आ गए और शाहजमाँ वाले महल में बाग़ की ओर खुलने वाली उसी खिड़की के पास आ बैठे।

थोड़ी देर बाद पहले की तरह ही बीस दासियों के साथ शहरयार की मलिका महल से निकल-कर बाग़ के उसी कोने में आ गई, शहरयार बड़े ध्यान से उन सबको देखने लगा। दस दासियों ने अपने कपड़े उतारे। बाकी दस दासियाँ नहीं थीं, वे हब्शी नौजवान थे। वे हब्शी दसों दासियों को लेकर एकान्त में चले गए। मलिका ने उस दिन की तरह मसूद को आवाज़ दी और उसके आने पर उसे बाँहों में लेकर प्यार करने लगी। सुबह तक यह जश्न चलता रहा। उसके बाद सबने स्नान किया। हब्शी नौजवानों ने फिर दासियों के कपड़े पहन लिए और मलिका उन सबको साथ लेकर अपने महल में वापस चली गई।

इस दृश्य को देखकर शहरयार की आँखों के सामने दुनिया अँधेरी हो गई। वह छोटे भाई से कहने लगा कि अब उसका दुनिया में रहने को जी नहीं चाहता। हम दोनों बहुत ही अभागे हैं। चलो, राजपाट छोड़कर जंगल में चलें। वहाँ फ़क़ीरों, साधु-संन्यासियों के साथ रहेंगे। शाहजमाँ ने बड़े भाई को समझाया लेकिन बड़ा भाई शहरयार किसी तरह राजी नहीं हुआ। खामोश होकर शाहजमाँ उसके साथ चलने पर सहमत हो गया। लेकिन उसने एक शर्त रखी कि अगर हम लोगों को अपने से भी बढ़कर कोई अभागा दिखाई दिया तो हम दोनों वापस लौट आएँगे और पहले की तरह अपना राजपाट सँभाल लेंगे। शहरयार ने उसकी यह शर्त मान ली और एक रात जब चारों ओर अँधेरा छाया

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हुआ था, दोनों भाई महल से निकलकर जंगल की ओर चल दिए। कुछ दिन यात्रा करने के बाद वे अमान सागर के तट पर पहुँच गए। यात्रा की थकान मिटाने के लिए दोनों एक छायादार पेड़ के नीचे जा बैठे। अभी अधिक देर नहीं हुई थी कि अचानक समुद्र में भीषण तूफान आ गया और फिर एक स्थान पर पानी फट गया। उस स्थान से एक देव सिर पर एक सन्दूक़ रखे हुए निकला। उस देव को देखते ही दोनों भाई भयभीत होकर उस पेड़ पर चढ़ गए। देव ने सन्दूक़ उसी पेड़ के नीचे लाकर रख दिया। फिर उसे खोलकर एक बहुत ही सुन्दर युवती को बाहर निकाल लिया। वह हाथ बाँधकर उसके सामने खड़ा हो गया। बोला, "मैं तुम्हें प्यार करता हूँ। दूसरा कोई व्यक्ति तुम्हें देखने न पाए इसलिए मैंने तुम्हें इस सन्दूक़ में बन्द कर रखा है। मैं इस सन्दूक़ को हर समय अपने साथ समुद्र में रखता हूँ।" देव कुछ देर तक उस सुन्दर युवती से बातें करता रहा और फिर उसकी गोद में सिर रखकर सो गया। इस बीच उस युवती की नज़र पेड़ पर पड़ी, जहाँ वे दोनों भाई छिपे हुए थे। उसने उन्हें नीचे उतरने का इशारा किया। वे दोनों भयभीत हो उठे। लेकिन यह सोचकर कि शायद यह युवती किसी मुसीबत में फँसी है और हमसे सहायता माँग रही है, वे दोनों पेड़ से उतर आए। उस स्त्री ने धीरे से देव का सिर अपनी गोद से हटाया और मिट्टी के एक ढेर पर रख दिया। फिर उन दोनों को साथ लेकर कुछ दूर चली गई। उसने दोनों भाइयों से कहा कि मैं चाहती हूँ कि तुम दोनों मेरे साथ संभोग करो।

दोनों भाई यह सुनकर घबरा गए और उन्होंने इन्कार कर दिया। उस स्त्री ने कहा कि अगर तुमने मेरा कहना नहीं माना तो मैं देव को जगा दूँगी और वह तुम दोनों को खा जाएगा। विवश होकर दोनों भाइयों ने उसके साथ संभोग किया। अपनी इच्छा पूरी हो जाने के बाद उस स्त्री ने अपनी जेब से अँगूठियों का एक गुच्छा निकाला और उन दोनों भाइयों से एक-एक अँगूठी लेकर उस गुच्छे में डाल दी। "इस बेवकूफ को पता नहीं कि इसकी इतनी हिफ़ाजत करने पर भी मैं साढ़े पाँच सौ नौजवानों से मिल चुकी हूँ। मैंने उनकी अँगूठियाँ उनकी निशानी के रूप में पास रख ली हैं।" उस स्त्री ने कहा और अपने स्थान पर जा बैठी। फिर दोनों भाइयों को इशारा किया कि वे यहाँ से फौरन भाग जाएँ। यह देखकर दोनों भाई आश्चर्यचकित हो गए। उन्होंने देखा कि यह देव हम दोनों भाइयों से भी बढ़कर अभागा है। वे दोनों अपनी-अपनी राजधानी की ओर चल दिए।

राजधानी में पहुँचते ही शहरयार ने अपनी मलिका, उसकी दासियों और हब्शी गुलामों को अपने हाथ से कत्ल कर दिया और प्रतिज्ञा की कि रोजाना एक स्त्री के साथ विवाह करूँगा और उसके साथ एक रात बिताकर सुबह उसे कत्ल कर दिया करूँगा। उसने यही करना शुरु किया। कुछ दिनों में ही उसने अपने राज्य के अमीर और सम्मानित व्यक्तियों की लड़कियों के साथ विवाह किया और फिर उन्हें मार डाला। इसके बाद निर्धन परिवार की लड़कियों का नम्बर आ गया। उसने एक-एक कर उनके साथ भी विवाह किया और फिर उन्हें मार डाला। पूरे देश में तहलका मच गया। राज्य की प्रजा देश छोड़कर भागने लगी।

शहरयार के एक मन्त्री की दो पुत्रियाँ थीं। वे दोनों जितनी सुन्दर थीं, उतनी ही बुद्धिमान भी थीं। शहरयार ने अभी तक उन्हें क्षमा कर रखा था। बड़ी बहन का नाम शहरजाद और छोटी बहन का नाम दुनियाजाद था। शहरजाद अपने पिता को काफ़ी दिनों से परेशान देख रही थी। एक दिन उसने पिता से उनकी परेशानी का कारण पूछा। पिता ने बेटी को टालने की बहुत कोशिश की लेकिन जब

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बेटी ने अत्यधिक आग्रह किया तो उसे बादशाह के बारे में सब कुछ बताना पड़ा।

शहरजाद ने पिता से कहा कि वह उसका विवाह शहरयार से कर दे। उसे विश्वास है कि वह बादशाह के इस अत्याचार को रोक देगी। पिता ने समझाया, "बेटी, तुम पागल हो गई हो। शहरयार कभी नहीं मानेगा। वह सुबह होते ही तुझे मार डालेगा। फिर तेरा भी वही हाल होगा, जो जानवरों की बोली समझने वाले सौदागर के गधों का हुआ था।" पिता द्वारा गधे और सौदागर की बात सुनकर बेटी उसकी कहानी सुनने की जिद करने लगी। इस तरह कहानी के भीतर कहानियों की शृंखला गुँथती जाती है।

शहरजाद ने पिता से अपनी बात मनवा ली। पिता को तसल्ली देने के बाद शहरजाद ने अपनी छोटी बहिन से कहा, "आज किसी बहाने तुम्हें बादशाह के महल में बुलाऊँगी। तुम आ जाना और जब थोड़ी रात रह जाए तब तुम मुझे कहानी सुनाने की जिद कर बैठना। मैं कोई कहानी सुनानी शुरू कर दूँगी। उम्मीद है, इस तरह मेरी और हज़ारों दूसरी लड़कियों की जान बच जाएगी।" छोटी बहिन ने अपनी सहमति दे दी। वायदे के अनुसार बादशाह ने शहरजाद के साथ शादी कर ली। जब उसने शहरजाद को देखा तो उसका सौन्दर्य देखकर पागलों की तरह प्यार करने पर उतारु हो गया। लेकिन शहरजाद ने उसे इतना मौक़ा ही नहीं दिया कि वह अपनी वासना की प्यास बुझा सके और फूट-फूटकर रोने लगी। बादशाह ने शहरजाद से उससे रोने का कारण पूछा तो वह कहने लगी, "मैं जानती हूँ कि सुबह होते ही आप मुझे मार डालेंगे। इसलिए मैं चाहती हूँ कि अपनी छोटी बहिन को अपने पास बुला लूँ और मरने से पहले जी भरकर देख लूँ।" शहरयार उसे वास्तव में चाहने लगा था। उसने अनुमति दे दी कि वह अपनी छोटी बहिन को बुलवा सकती है।

शहरजाद का एक रात के लिए बादशाह से विवाह हुआ। उसने अपनी योजना के अनुसार बादशाह से चिरौरी विनती करके छोटी बहिन दुनियाजाद को शयनागार में बुला लिया। बादशाह वास्तव में शहरजाद को प्यार करने लगा था इसलिए उन दोनों के साथ बातें करके लगा कि अपनी प्रतिज्ञा के अनुसार शहरजाद को कत्ल न करना पडे उसने शहरजाद के साथ सुहागरात मनाने का विचार स्थगित कर दिया। जब आधी रात बीत गई तो दुनियाजाद ने अपनी बहिन से कहा, "बहिन, खुदा जाने सुबह को क्या हो? अन्तिम बार आप एक कहानी सुना दीजिए। परेशानी की वजह से नींद नहीं आ रही है।" "अगर शहंशाह इजाज़त दे दें तो मैं तुम्हें कहानी सुना सकती हूँ।" शहरजाद ने कहा। बादशाह शहरयार को भी कहानियाँ सुनने का बेहद शौक़ था। उसने बड़ी खुशी से इजाज़त दे दी। शहरजाद कहानी सुनाने लगी। कहानी भोर होने तक समाप्त नहीं हुई। तय हुआ कि अब कहानी अगली रात को फिर शुरु की जाएगी, और आज के लिए शहरजाद को जीवनदान दिया जाता है।

शहरजाद की सुनाई हुई कहानी में मञ्जूषा और शृंखला की शैलियों में एक के बाद एक कहानियाँ जुड़ती जाती हैं और मूल कथा का अन्त होने को आता ही नहीं है। इस तरह एक सहस्र रात्रियाँ बीत जाती हैं। अन्त में बादशाह अपना प्रण तोड़कर उसे सदा के लिए अपना लेता है।

आरब्ययामिनी की पाण्डुलिपियाँ

आरब्ययामिनी की दो पाण्डुलिपियाँ प्राप्त होती हैं। न्यू कैटलागस कैटलागोरम खण्ड 38 में इनमें से एक का विवरण इस प्रकार दिया गया है —

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Skt version of Arabian Nights, by Jagadbandhubhaṭṭa, sponsored by Śambhucandra, zamīndār of Kākinīya, CsVI (A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Library of Calcutta Sanskrit College, MS dated 1299 Śāli) L — (Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts — Rajendralal Mitra, Calcutta, 1871-90, 1969, part I of 50 stories, MS dated 1878 see also J1 of Sanskrit Sahitya Parishad Calcutta, XVII).

इस ग्रन्थ की पाण्डुलिपियों के विषय में न्यू कैटलागस कैटलागोरम के सम्पादकों ने अपनी ओर से सर्वेक्षण नहीं किया है, और उन्होंने पूर्व प्रकाशित सूची-पत्रों से ही जानकारी ले ली है। इलाहाबाद से प्राप्त पाण्डुलिपि इस विवरण में उल्लिखित कलकत्ता की पाण्डुलिपि से भिन्न है।

अलिफ़-लैला के अन्य भाषाओं में अनुवाद

सहस्ररजनीचरित्र के नाम से अलिफ़-लैला का हिन्दी अनुवाद चंदर कौल लेखारे ने किया जो 1890 ई. में प्रकाशित हुआ था। रिचर्ड फ्रांसिस बर्टन, जिन्हें भारत से अजीबोग़रीब साहित्य खोजने की धुन थी, उन्होंने इसका अंग्रेज़ी में अनुवाद किया। सरस्वती सरन कैफ के सम्पादन में यह 989 में पुनः मुद्रित हुआ है।[2] प्यारेलाल के द्वारा किए गए अनुवाद का छठा संस्करण 1901 में लखनऊ से छपा। इसमें 840 मुद्रित पृष्ठ हैं। संक्षिप्त अनुवाद कृष्णबिहारी शुक्ला का है, जो बम्बई से 1929 में प्रकाशित हुआ, इसमें 616 पृष्ठ हैं।

आरब्ययामिनी की रूपरेखा तथा अनुवाद की विशेषताएँ

आरब्ययामिनी के मूल ग्रन्थ का फ़ारसी में नाम अलिफ़-लैला है, अंग्रेज़ी में यह अरेबियन नाइट्स के नाम से चल पड़ा। संस्कृतरूपान्तरकार जगद्बन्धुभट्ट को अंग्रेज़ी या अन्य भाषाओं के अनुवादों के नाम की जानकारी रही होगी, अतः इन्होंने अपने ग्रन्थ के शीर्षक में यामिनी शब्द जोड़ा। सिन्दबाद की सात समुद्री यात्राएँ, अलादीन का जादुई चिराग, अलीबाबा चालीस चोर, बोलने वाली चिड़िया, आदि इसमें समाहित हैं।

संस्कृत अनुवादक जगद्बन्धुभट्ट ने कथारम्भ के पूर्व 27 प्रास्ताविक पद्य संयोजित किए हैं। इनमें मंगलश्लोकों के अन्तर्गत प्रथम पद्य में परब्रह्म की स्तुति,[3] द्वितीय व तृतीय में आनन्दमयी देवी की,[4]

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[2] सूचना ब्रिटिश म्यूजियम के डिज़िटाइज़्ड सूची-पत्र से।

[3] शान्तं तुरीयमद्वैतं शिवं ब्रह्म सनातनम्।
अनन्तं चिन्मयं नौमि सान्द्रानन्दं परात्परम्।।

[4] सान्द्रनन्दप्रदा या कलुषचयहरा भ्रामरीपीठसंस्था
त्रिस्रोतस्तीरगेहा निखिलभयहरा भीमरूपा सुरूपा।
भूगोलोकाभिधानं नरपतिनरं सर्वतः पाति पूर्णा
तस्यानन्दमय्याः पदकमलयुगेऽभीष्टसिद्ध्यै स्मरामः।।
यामाराध्य पितामहस्त्रिजगतामुत्पत्तिकार्ये विभु-
यां सञ्चित्य जनार्दनस्तनुभृतां सम्पालनाकौशलः।
यां संस्मृत्य महेश्वर पुरहरः संहारकार्येश्वर-
स्तामानन्दमयीं नमामि शुभदां सर्वेश्वरीं चिन्मयीम्।।3।।

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चतुर्थ में श्यामसुन्दर का स्मरण,[5] पंचम में ईश,[6] षष्ठ में गणेश,[7] सप्तम में सूर्य की स्तुति वेदमन्त्रों की पदावली की आवृत्ति के साथ की गई है।[8] अष्टम में वाणीवन्दना,[9] नवम में सरस्वती,[10] तथा दशम से षोडशवें तक के पद्य राधाकृष्ण की विलासकलाकौतुक के साथ हरिस्मरण करते हुए जगद्बन्धुभट्ट अपने आश्रयदाता के गुणों तथा काकिना नगरी के सौन्दर्य व वहाँ के देवालयों का वर्णन करते हैं।[11]

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5 श्रीश्यामसुन्दरमनन्तमनन्तमायं भूपालरम्यनगरे ह्यपरावतारम्।
ज्ञानस्वरूपमपि बुद्धिविवर्धकं यं तं यत्नतोऽविरतमत्र समाश्रयेऽहम्।

6 यस्येषद् दर्शनात् स्यात् कुमतिरपि जनो मान्य धन्यो वरेण्यो
यस्य श्रीपादपद्मं सततमपि सुरैश्चिन्तितं भक्तियुक्तैः।
योगीन्द्राय यस्य रूपं बहुविधतपसा सन्ततं द्रष्टुकामाः
केषान्तस्याश्रये स्याद् भुवि च सुरनृणां वाञ्छनापूरणत्रः।।

7 यो विघ्नव्रजसंहरः सुरवरो लम्बोदरः सुन्दरः
सर्वज्ञः सुरपूजितः सुरनृणां सिद्धिप्रदः सर्वदः।
शर्वाणीप्रियनन्दनो मुरहराभेदः सदा दुःखहः
सोऽस्मिन् वाञ्छितपूरणे विनशनं विघ्नय कुर्यान्मम।।

8 वेदा यमाहुः पुरुषं प्रधानमादित्यवर्णं तमसः पुरस्तात्।
सा एव सूर्योऽप्यभिलाषसिद्ध्यै मेऽज्ञाननाशं विदधत् विभाति

9 सा तन्त्रविद्बुद्धिशिनी??विकाशिनीं मुनेर्मनोमञ्जनभोनिवासिनीम्।
अशेषबालिश्यतमोविनासिनीं नमामि वाणी द्युमणिस्वरूपिणीम्।।8।।
या शुक्लाम्बरसंवृता सुरनरव्याहाररूपा परा
या शुक्लाब्दकृतासना सुसुषमाशुभ्रांशुदीप्तिप्रभा।
या शुक्लोक्पलभूषिताऽमरवराराध्या जगद्भासिनी
सा वाणी रसनालये लसतु मे दो?? वाञ्छनं वाञ्छने।।9

10 श्रीपीताम्बरपूर्णकामकमलावाणीनिकायस्थित
विश्वाराधितविश्वतन्त्रगहनोत्सारैकपञ्चानन।।
विश्वोत्कीर्तितकीर्तिवृन्द भवते दं वाञ्छनं वाञ्छनं
श्रीयुन्नन्दकुमारनाम्नि ह मे?? कारुण्यमातन्यताम्।।10

11 भूपः श्रीशम्भुचन्द्रो गुणगणिगणगणितः पण्डितः श्रीयुतः
भूलोकाभिधानेऽच्युतनगरसमे काकिनापत्तनेऽस्मिन्
दीनानां देव्यरोगानगदमिव धनान् दापयन् दुर्गतेभ्यो
नित्यं धन्वन्तरिर्वा सुविमलयशसा नाशयन् भाति भूमौ।।11
प्रासादा बहुदा विभान्ति विमला स्फाटिक्यदीप्तिप्रभा
नानरत्नविभूषिताः सुरपतेः स्थानीयतुल्या भुवि
स्वच्छस्फाटिक्यरौप्यनिर्मितमहाभाण्डादिसङ्ख्यान्विताः
आश्चर्यामुकुराद्वृता नरगणैरानन्दा वीक्षणे।।12।।
सन्दर्भरचनागारं रम्यहर्म्यं विराजते।
शम्भुचन्द्राख्ययन्त्रं च भवने पुस्तकोद्भवे।। 13
नाना विचित्रा नृपतेर्निशान्ते आनन्दशाकुन्तसुमन्दिराद्याः।
उद्यानमुत्कृष्टतमं फलाद्यैः पुष्पव्रजे रञ्जननामधेयम्।। 14
आनन्दसरको भाति सर्वानन्दकरो नृणाम्।
श्रीशम्भुसागरो वारिपूर्णो भाति मनोहरः।। 15

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तेईसवें पद्य में आरब्ययामिनी के प्रणेता जगद्बन्धुभट्ट ने सूचित किया है कि उन्होंने अपने आश्रयदाता की प्रशस्ति में कीर्तिचन्द्रोदय नाम से प्रवन्ध लिखा ही है, अतः यहाँ विस्तार से उनके विषय में नहीं कह रहे हैं।[12] अट्ठाईसवें पद्य से प्रकृतप्रवन्ध का उपोद्घात करते हैं, जिसमें ग्रन्थ के शीर्षक के साथ पद्यम् व गद्यम् के अलग-अलग शीर्षक दिए गए हैं।[13]

पारसीक देश के राजा के वर्णन से जगद्बन्धुभट्ट ने कथारम्भ किया है। राजा के दो जुड़वाँ बेटों के नामों में शहरयार के स्थान पर अनुवादक ने सहरीयार लिखा है, छोटे भाई शाहजमाँ का नाम सहजिनाण कर दिया है। दोनों के लिए राम लक्ष्मण का उपमान दिया है तथा सहजिनाण के वड़े भाई के प्रति भक्तिभाव को भरत के राम के प्रति भक्ति से उपमा दी है

यद्यपि यह अनुवाद गद्य और पद्य में है, परन्तु अनुवादक ने सर्गों में पूरे ग्रन्थ का विभाजन किया है। सहजिनाण क्रोध में आग-बबूला होकर अपनी पत्नी तथा उसके प्रेमी का वहीं वध कर डालता है - प्रथम सर्ग यहाँ समाप्त होता है।

सहजिनाण अत्यन्त अवसादग्रस्त है, वह अपने अग्रज के पास आता है। दोनों भाई मिलकर परम प्रमुदित होते हैं। परस्पर चर्चा और आमोद-प्रमोद में समय व्यतीत करते हैं, दोनों के मिलन और आनन्द का वर्णन कथाकार जगद्बन्धुभट्ट ने गद्य व पद्य में विशद रूप में किया है, जो पाण्डुलिपि में कम से कम दो फोलियो में विस्तारित है। बड़ा भाई अपने अनुज को अनेक सौगातें देता हैं, जिनमें भारतवर्ष से प्राप्त विचित्र वस्तुएँ भी हैं। लेकिन सहजिनाण को पत्नी के विश्वासघात की स्मृतियाँ बार-बार विषाद की मनोदशा में पहुँचाती रहती हैं। अनुवादक ने यहाँ अपनी कल्पना से विषाद की मनःस्थितियों का विशद चित्रण किया है। सहरीयार भाई को खिन्न देखकर उसका मन बहलाने का प्रयास करता है। वह शिकार पर जाने का प्रस्ताव रखता है, सहजिनाण का मन शिकार में नहीं लगता और वह राजमहल वापस आ जाता है। उसकी भाभी के अपने जार (यार) के साथ रमण व सहजिनाण का छिपकर यह सब देखने के वर्णन में द्वितीय सर्ग समाप्त होता है।

छोटे भाई के द्वारा अपनी पत्नी के दुश्चरित्र का वृत्तान्त पाकर उस पर सहरीयार का विश्वास न करना, फिर छिपकर पत्नी की करतूत देखना, फिर क्रोध में आगबबूला होना — यहाँ तृतीय सर्ग समाप्त होता है। चतुर्थ सर्ग में दोनों भाई लम्बी यात्रा पर निकल पड़ते हैं, उनकी भेंट एक अत्यन्त सुन्दर रमणी से होती है और भिड़न्त एक राक्षस से, जिसने इस रमणी को बन्दी बना रखा है। ये दोनों इस रमणी के साथ रमण करते हैं, और अपनी अँगूठी उसके माँगने पर उसे दे देते हैं। यहाँ

←त्रिस्रोतरत्तीरसान्निध्ये नगरम्भाति निर्मलम्।
यत्रानन्दमयी भाति आनन्देन समन्विता।। 16
तस्य भूपतिवर्यस्य कृपावृन्दवशंवदः।
आदेशेन समभ्यास्मिन् विक्रमाख्यपुरे स्थितः ।24
श्रीजगदबन्धुविप्रोऽहं राज्ञाऽऽज्ञप्तः प्रवर्तितः।
सन्दर्भवचने तस्मिन् निर्लज्जस्येव साम्प्रतम्।। 25।।

12 तस्यास्मिन् महिमानं किं वर्णयामि कियन्मतिः??।।
कीर्तिचन्द्रोदयग्रन्थे वर्णितं प्राग् यथामति।।23।।

13 श्रीगुरोः करुणासद्वाङ्मयवाक्यादियं भुवि।
आरब्ययामिनी भातु जनामोदविवर्धिका।। 28।।

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भी धोखा खाकर दोनों भाई लौटते हैं। सहजिनाण तो अपने अवसाद व स्त्री के प्रति अमर्ष से उबर जाता है, परन्तु बड़ा भाई सहरीयार समस्त स्त्री जाति से प्रतिशोध लेने पर उतारु हो जाता है। वह अपने अमात्य को बुलाकर कहता है कि प्रतिरात्रि मेरे शयनागार में परपुरुष से एक अभुक्त नवयौवना लाई जाए। प्रत्येक रात्रि वह नई-नवेली तरुणी से विवाह करके उसे भोगकर अगले दिन उसकी हत्या करवा देता है। तातार, समरकन्द आदि देश व नगर नाम मूल फ़ारसी में रखे हैं। बादशाह शब्द का प्रयोग आरब्ययामिनीकार ने बार-बार किया है।

एशियाई कथा का सौन्दर्यशास्त्र

कथाकौतुकम्, देलरामाकथासार, सुलैमच्चरित या आरब्ययामिनी जैसे कथा संग्रहों में आश्चर्यजनक वृत्तान्तों, कौतुक तथा अद्भुत रस की सृष्टि करने वाले प्रसंगों का संग्रह विशेष है, जिसमें इस्लामी तथा अरबी काव्यशास्त्र की अज़ाइब (अद्भुत) तथा ग़राइब (विरल, दुर्लभ) इन दो अवधारणाओं की बड़ी रोचक निष्पत्ति होती है। कथा साहित्य में अज़ाइब और ग़राइब का विनियोजन केवल कौतुक या विस्मय की सृष्टि ही नहीं करता, वह इस जगत् के रहस्यमय और तर्कातीत होने की प्रत्यय देता है, जिससे श्रोता या पाठक को परमपिता परमेश्वर या अल्लाह की अलौकिक सत्ता और सृष्टि में अद्भुत सृष्टि कर सकने की क्षमता पर विश्वास हो सके। भारत में बाबर, हुमायूँ, अकबर, जहाँगीर आदि मुगल बादशाहों ने अपने आत्मवृत्तान्तों में ग़राइब के अनुभव पर बहुत जोर दिया है। अकबर के महाभारत की ओर आकर्षित होने का कारण भी मुस्लिम सौन्दर्यशास्त्र की ग़राइब की अवधारणा ही रही है।[14]

इस सौन्दर्यशास्त्र के परिप्रेक्ष्य में आरब्ययामिनी एशिया की कथा-परम्परा का नवाविष्कार है। यह भारत की सामासिक संस्कृति की भी परिचायक है निश्चय ही ऐसे अन्य अनेक अनुवाद फ़ारसी से संस्कृत में बारहवीं से अठारहवीं शताब्दियों के बीच किए गए होंगे, जो कालकवलित हो गए। उनकी पाण्डुलिपियों के अन्वेषण की महती आवश्यकता है।

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[14] Audrey Truschke, *Culture of Encounter*, pp. 109-10.

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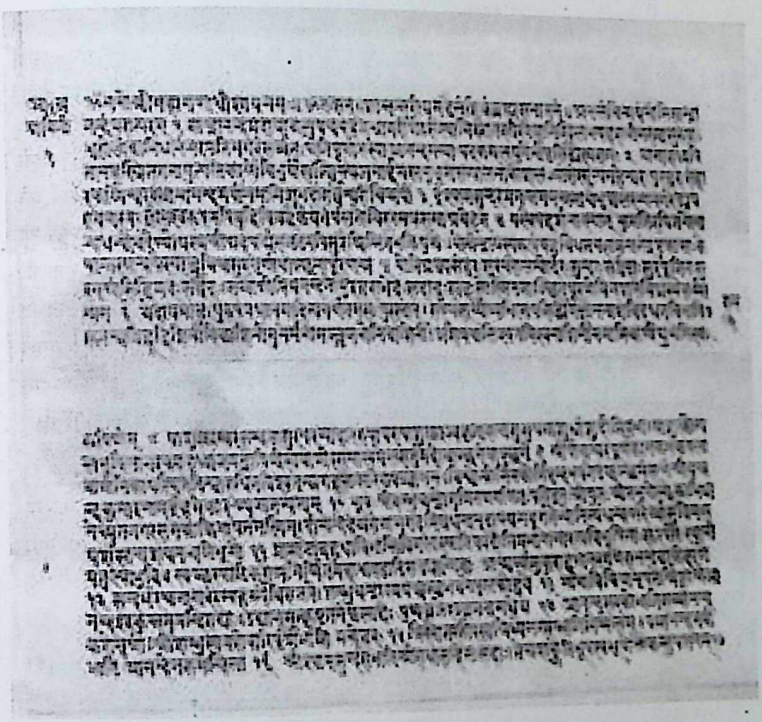

a

fig. 12.1 a-c : Three folios of a manuscript of *Ārabyayāminī*, Manuscript Library, Rashtriya Sanskrit Sansthan, Ganganath Jha Campus, Allahabad

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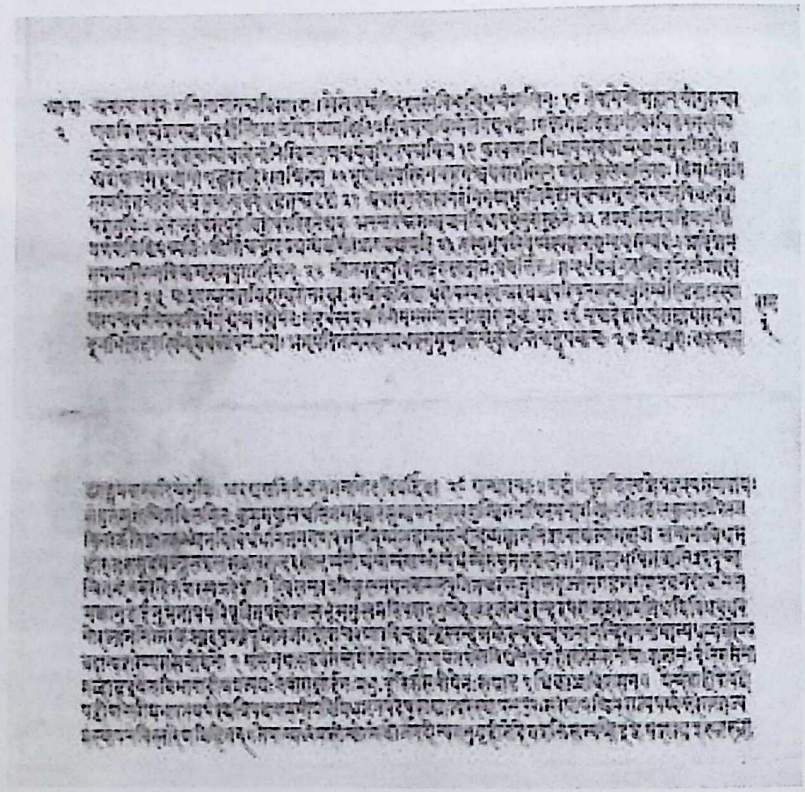

b

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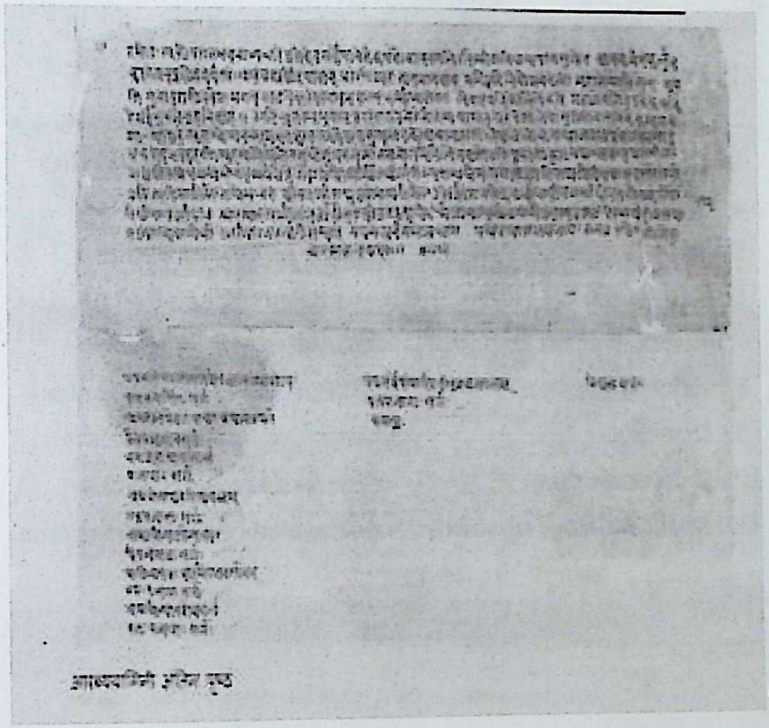

आरब्ययामिनी प्रतिलिपि पृष्ठ

c

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The introductions, interpretations, explanations and analyses involved herein should solicit keen interest among academicians, scholars and students of Indology.

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